THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XL *July 1956* NUMBER 3

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET

NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

The New-York Historical Society Quarterly is published in January, April, July and October by The New-York Historical Society at 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N.Y. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements made by contributors. Yearly subscriptions are $3.00; individual copies, 75 cents. Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter.

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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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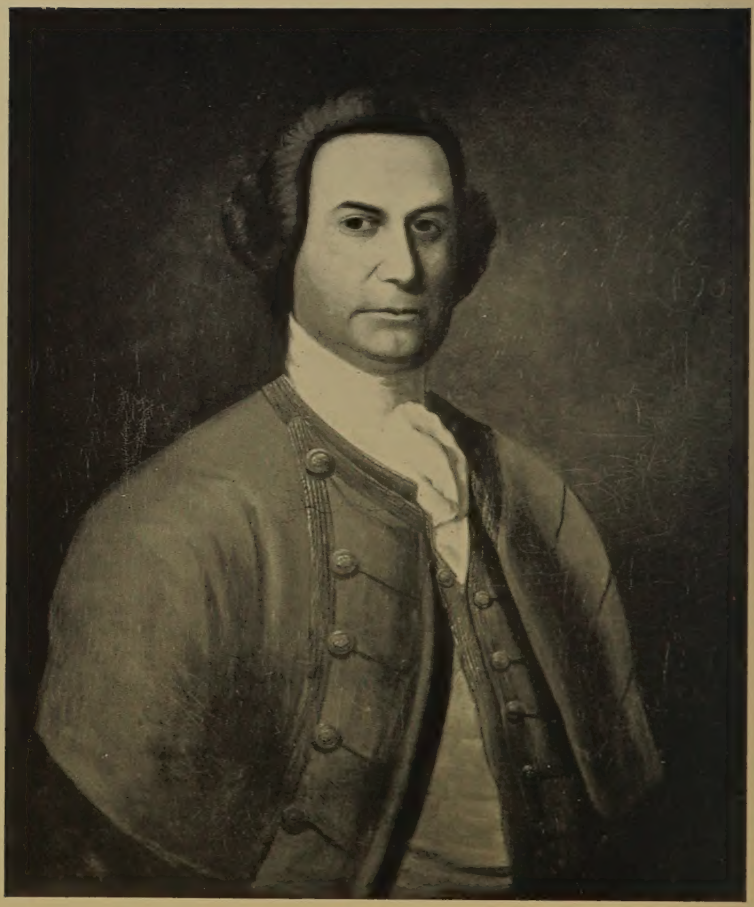


SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (1715–1774)
Copy by an unidentified artist, *c.* 1840, after the lost original
by Thomas McIlworth at Johnson Hall, May 1763
Gift of Edward F. DeLancey, 1896

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

July 1956

VOLUME XL NUMBER THREE

New York: 170 Central Park West

THE LIBRARY OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

by Milton W. Hamilton*

THE RECENT restoration of Johnson Hall, the baronial mansion of Sir William Johnson at Johnstown, New York, has called our attention to many aspects of life at this outpost of culture on the American Frontier. Not only was this a rich and, for such times, luxurious residence, but it affords an insight into the social and cultural life of Colonial America. Far removed from populous centers, it still reflected the culture of New York City and the Old World. It suggested the tastes and something of the unknown background of Sir William, an Irish protegé of his uncle Sir Peter Warren in developing the back country of the Mohawk Valley, who was at the same time by marriage connected with the Warrens, De Lanceys, and other important Colonial families.

* Dr. Hamilton is Senior Historian in the Division of Archives and History of the State of New York and editor of Vols. X (1951), XI (1953), and succeeding volumes in progress, of *The Paper of Sir William Johnson* being published by The University of the State of New York.

Sir William's preoccupation with Indian affairs in his official capacity has led some people to ignore his general cultural interests. These ran the gamut from religious and educational promotion to self-improvement and scientific investigation. He was an earnest backer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in sending missions among the Indians; he supported the school of Eleazar Wheelock, later to become Dartmouth College, and he established churches and schools in the Mohawk Country. He corresponded with scholars, as well as statesmen, and he showed a real appreciation of their work. Had he been allowed more free time and lived a quieter life, he surely would have made his mark in the cultural field.

One of the rooms in Johnson Hall is Sir William's study. From documentary evidence as well as from legend we know that he used this room for conferences and for business, and that here he wrote many of his voluminous letters and reports. Here stood his desk, and here, too, were his shelves of books—his library. The picture of life at Johnson Hall would not be complete if it did not depict this corner of the mansion with its books and papers, its desk with quills, inkwells, ledgers and journals, its maps, charts, globe, and pictures, all related to the bustling business of Indian affairs, trading and statesmanship. No doubt all of Sir William's books and papers could not have been crowded into this room, for he also slept and lived there at times. When visitors, Indians, and staff members gave him little privacy, as he frequently testified, there were other corners where one might curl up with a copy of *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, or burrow in tomes of history, morals or law. Members of the household could find many volumes of interest in this baronial library. But the study was no doubt the home of the baronet's books.

It would be eminently desirable, if possible, to reconstruct Sir William's library on the shelves of his study. But the disasters of the war and the dissipation of his property make this an impossibility. Only a few of his books, identified by his name or bookplate, survive and these are treasured holdings of some institutions

JOHNSON HALL, RESTORED, AS IT IS TODAY
Photograph by Sheldon Toomer
Courtesy N. Y. State Department of Commerce

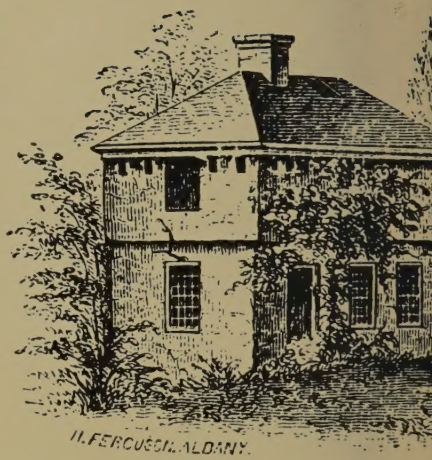
and a few individuals. But from the Johnson Papers and from other correspondence we can list many of the books he owned, and so partially catalogue his library. We can also learn how the library grew; we can learn something of his interests and tastes; and we see that the library was an integral part of the life and work of this man of action.

It is not surprising that this land-developer and pioneer Indian trader had few books during the first decade of his residence in the Mohawk Valley. But it is illuminating that a practical man who excelled in his dealings with Indians soon turned to books to buttress his information. In May 1748 he wrote to Jacob Glen "for the loan of the History of the five Nations and the late Act of Assembly concerning the Regulating of the Militia of the County of Albany. Both of w^h^ I shall return you again in a week

JOHNSON HALL, JOHNSTOWN, N. Y.

Sir William built his new home a short distance north of the then-small settlement of Johnstown and moved there in 1762–63 from his Ft. Johnson home which was thenceforth occupied by his son, Sir John Johnson.

The view reproduced here is from a woodcut by Hiram Ferguson and Horace B. Derby in W. L. Stone's *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* (1865). [Linecut, courtesy of *The Yorker*]

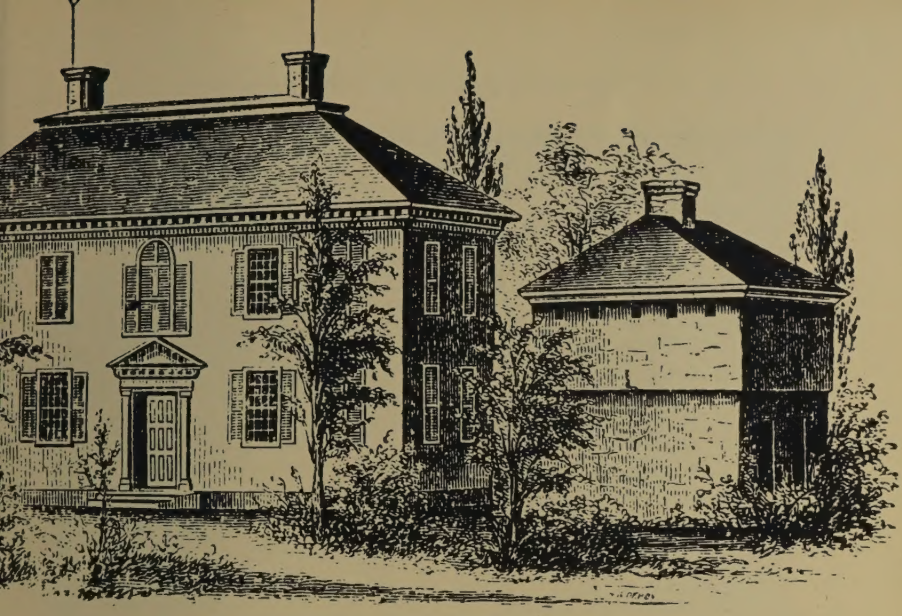


or ten days."[1] Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Nations Depending on the Province of New York* was published in 1727, and a new edition had come out in 1747. Could it be that Colden's brief mention therein of Johnson's success in negotiations had reached his ears? The venerable Lieutenant Governor later was to be one of his frequent correspondents.

This need for books, not just tracts and acts of the legislature, however, soon led him to build a library and he sent out orders for a consignment of books, and for the regular supply of papers and periodicals by correspondents. He had just finished building his substantial stone mansion on the Mohawk River, Fort Johnson, and he wished to have his books around him. He wrote Captain Ross, May 30, 1749:

"I beg you will ask Mr. [Rev. Henry] Barclay whether he has no books of mine. If he has send them up and them that Phill Livingston and Doctor Shuckburgh has of mine. . . ."[2] Then on

[1] *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (11 vols.; Albany: 1921–1953), IX:13. Hereafter cited as *Johnson Papers*.
[2] *Ibid.*, I:229.



February 19, 1750 (N. S.), he ordered from his agents in London his first recorded consignment of books:[3]

Two volumes quarto of Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy, confirmed by experiments—or an introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy; translated into English by the late J. T. Desaguliers.[4]

Also the Second Edition of Doctor Desaguliers course of Experimental Philosophy, adorned with 78 copper plates. In two volumes quarto.[5]

Chamber's Dictionary, 2 volumes.[6]

Baker's Microscope made easy.[7]

Rodderick Randum.[8]

The Gentlemans Magazine from December 1748 to the present time.[9]

The Family Magazine in 2 parts.[10]

An Historicall review of the Transactions of Europe from the Commencement of the War with Spain.

The Whole proceedings in the House of Peers against the three Condemned Lords.

Amaryllis a new Musical Design well Bound.[11]

[3] *Ibid.*, I:264–65. A few items on this list are too vague to be identified.

[4] See item No. 23 in the appended Partial Checklist of Books in Sir William Johnson's Library. Hereafter cited as Checklist (with No.).

[5] Checklist No. 18.

[6] Checklist No. 9.

[7] Checklist No. 4.

[8] Checklist No. 56.

[9] Checklist No. 21.

[10] Checklist No. 19.

[11] Checklist No. 1.

If this were not sufficient indication of varied interests, the rest of the order would leave no doubt. Messrs. Baker were also to send:

A good French Horn with the Notes.
A good Common Hunting Horn.
A good loud Trumpett.
[A supply of pencils, sealing wax, writing paper; white and red lead and linseed oil, and]
A good Globe to Hang in a Hall with light.
A Prism—Some prints as
Titians Loves of the Gods.
Le Bruns Battles of Alexander.
Some Numbers Pousins Landscapes by Knaptons.
4 Seasons Day by Lancret.
4 prints of a Camp by Watteau.
Some numbers Houbrakens Heads.
The pictures of Some of the best running horses at New Market.

From this time forth he replenished his library through agents in New York. First it was through Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, later to be his secretary, whom he wrote August 20, 1752:

Having lately had a pritty large Collection of Books from London, shall at present only desire You will please to send me what pamphlets are new, and worth reading, also the Gentleman's Magazine from Nov^{br}. 1750 to the last and the Monthly Review from the Same time. Also the News Papers regularly and stitched up. . . . You have only to deliver them to M^{r}. John George Libenrood Merch^{t}. there who will forward them to me, and will pay your Acc^{t}. Yearly. . . .[12]

Subsequently a similar arrangement with the printers Hugh Gaine and James Rivington kept him supplied with the latest news, newspapers, pamphlets and books. As his correspondence widened, others sent him their works or those publications which they wished him to read.

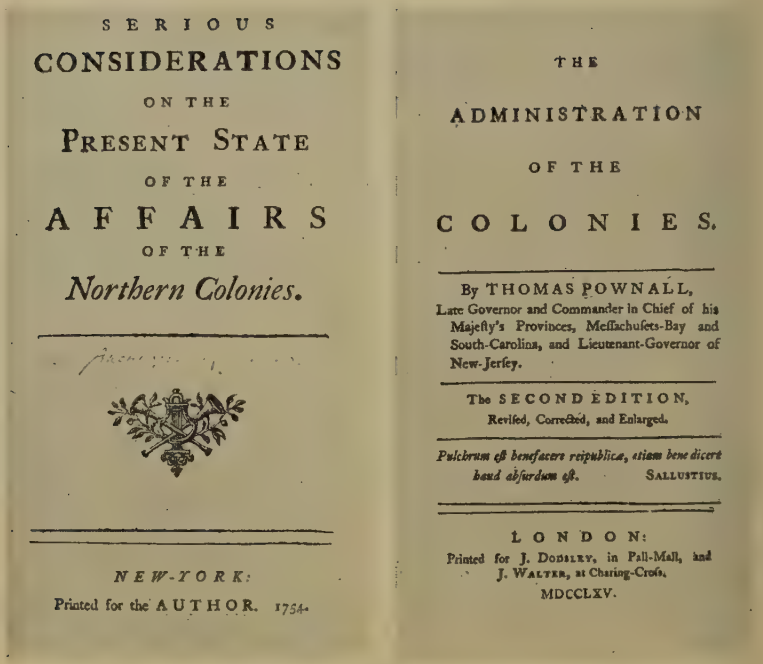
With this rather modest beginning at Fort Johnson, the man of affairs found himself almost too busy to bother with such things as book orders. He was now really making history; what

[12] *Johnson Papers*, I:375.

FORT (MOUNT) JOHNSON, BUILT 1749, AS IT IS TODAY
Now on Route 5, three miles west of Amsterdam, N.Y.
Photograph by John J. Vrooman

might have been products of his pen were produced by others with his active collaboration in supplying information. He might well have emerged as an authority on Indian affairs equal to Cadwallader Colden. Let us consider the books of this period in whose writing he played a part.

Archibald Kennedy, Provincial Councilor and leading citizen of New York City, in a series of pamphlets obtained a reputation as keen observer of Indian affairs and as a critic of the Provincial policies. His theses that the Indians should be conciliated, their castles protected against the French, and their warriors organized as allies were set forth in his pamphlet published in 1751 entitled: *The Importance of Gaining the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest Considered*. It is interesting to note that William Johnson seems to have been the source of the ideas which



SERIOUS
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
AFFAIRS
OF THE
Northern Colonies.

NEW-YORK:
Printed for the AUTHOR. 1754.

THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
COLONIES.

By THOMAS POWNALL,
Late Governor and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Provinces, Massachusets-Bay and South-Carolina, and Lieutenant-Governor of New-Jersey.

The SECOND EDITION,
Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged.

Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est. SALLUSTIUS.

LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, and J. WALTER, at Charing-Cross.
MDCCLXV.

TITLE PAGES: CHECKLIST NOS. 30 AND 44
From the NYHS copies

Kennedy so persuasively presented. Richard Shuckburgh wrote Johnson from New York, May 14, 1751:

> Capt. Rutherfords family are going home in Capt. Roddam who will I suppose carry Kennedys Pamphlet. I see nothing new in it being hardly anything but a Repetition of y^r^. Letters, if I remember, of the Present State of the Indians wrote to the Gov^r^. and lay'd by him before the Council of this Province and sent home.[13]

This was followed by other Kennedy pamphlets, including the influential *Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies* (1754) on the eve of the Albany Congress.[14] It was Kennedy, too, whom Benjamin Franklin

[13] *Ibid.*, I:332.

[14] Checklist Nos. 29 and 30. See Lawrence C. Wroth, *An American Bookshelf 1755* (Philadelphia: 1934), for a discussion of the Kennedy pamphlets, their contents and authorship.

consulted in New York on his way to Albany. Finally Kennedy drew up a set of instructions for Johnson, "Some Hints for a Commanding Officer," May 1755,[15] as he prepared to lead his expedition against Crown Point.

The fame which came to General William Johnson as victor at the Battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755, propelled him into the literary world. His own reports and accounts of the battle were published in the English newspapers and magazines, and his friends utilized the press to promote his rising influence, and to combat his critics, the apologists for General Shirley. Among these friends none was more important than Thomas Pownall, who had first come to the Colonies as secretary to the ill-fated Governor Danvers Osborne. After Osborne's death, Pownall attended the Albany Congress of 1754, and subsequently became Governor of New Jersey and of Massachusetts. He carried on a fruitful correspondence with Johnson, advising him on his military and political affairs, and in return receiving from Johnson data on geography and the Indians. He was a keen observer and facile writer and was to publish a number of works on America. That these found their way to Johnson's library is not to be doubted, and one, *The Administration of the Colonies*, first published in 1764, has been found with the Johnson bookplate.[16]

Not long after the Battle of Lake George, about the first of October 1755, Pownall wrote of his efforts in Johnson's behalf and his hopes of a mission to England. Among other proposals was this:

> I can see no Impropriety if you think it Proper (but before 'tis done I will take advice from Home,) to have published Your Late Treaty, The Benefit of Which Mr. Wraxal is intitled to and should have. It will sell so as to raise more money than w^d. appear at first sight. I will take y^e. trouble to see it done, and will (without putting my name in public) write a Preface to it pointing out y^e. Leading Matters to it in y^e. former state of Indian Politics, together with a Short Account of y^e. Indians their Gov^t., their Method of Treaties &c. Give me Your answer to this, I mean

[15] *Johnson Papers*, I:539–40.
[16] Checklist No. 44.

to make it point out Your Services by an Induction of y^e^. strongest Sort.—and to putt Your Interest on a Right bottom.—[17]

Pownall was not able to go to England as soon as he expected but his proposal was carried out and there next year appeared the promised publication: *An Account of Conferences held, and Treaties made, Between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart. and the Chief Sachems and Warriours.*[18] Pownall's preface served to enhance the stature of Sir William, who had received his honors and title the first of the year.

Various publications had carried Sir William's account of the Battle of Lake George as he transmitted it to the various governors in America. The world-wide interest in this battle at the time seems difficult for us to understand, used as we are to magnify the later victories and earlier defeats, or those in which larger forces were engaged. But it was startling news when it was the first victory for the English in the American wilderness —a victory of an untrained civilian commander over one of the experts of the battlefields of Europe. We are amazed to find Sir William translated into Portuguese, and wonder if the *Relacaõ* of the Lake George battle ever found its way to his library.[19]

While the writer has not attempted to re-translate into English this purported letter to Governor Benning Wentworth, he is amused by the renderings of the names: Coronel Giulhelmo on the title becomes Wilhelmo Gonson in the signature; Col. Ruggles becomes "Koggles"; Titcomb is "Fiscomb"; Porter is "Puter"; Stoddert is "Sorddert," and Maginnis is "Ginnes." The date of the battle is wrong, and we are unable to find any letter of which this is a translation. But such is fame.

It is reasonable to assume that publications on the battle would find their way to Sir William. Samuel Blodget of Boston was an eye witness of the battle and his story of the campaign was pub-

[17] Thomas Pownall to William Johnson, October [1,] 1755. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection.

[18] For full title see Checklist No. 45.

[19] Checklist No. 50. Copies in New York State Library, New York Public Library, and John Carter Brown Library.

A
PROSPECTIVE PLAN
OF THE
Battle near Lake *George*,
ON THE
Eighth Day of *September*, 1755.
WITH AN
EXPLANATION thereof;
CONTAINING
A full, tho' ſhort, Hiſtory of that important Affair.

By *Samuel Blodget*,
Occaſionally at the Camp, when the Battle was fought.

BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND:
Printed by *Richard Draper*, for the Author.
MDCCLVI.

RELAÇAÕ

De huma batalha, ſuccedida no campo de Lake Giorge na America Septemtrional, entre as Tropas Inglezas commandadas pelo Coronel Guilhelmo, e as Francezas das quaes era Commandante o General Baraõ Dieskau, aos 30. de Junho do prezente anno de 1757.

Traduzida no Idioma Portuguez.

Extrahida de huma Carta eſcrita pelo meſmo Coronel, logo deſpois do ſucceſſo, ao General Wenſvort, *Governador da nova* Hanipſhire, *e mandada incluſa em outra eſcrita em Poſtmaute Capital da meſma Provincia.*

LISBOA:
Anno M. DCC. LVII.
Com todas as licenças neceſſarias.

PLAN AND TITLE PAGE: CHECKLIST NO. 7; TITLE PAGE: NO. 50

No. 7 from NYPL copy; Portuguese edition (No. 50) from NYHS copy

lished in 1755, with a map of the battle, one of the most effective contemporary accounts.[20] His letter to Sir William indicates that he must have had some literary help.

Sir/At the Desier of a number of Gentlemen of this Town I have composed from my Jornal this work However Inferior; pleas to permit me to present your Honnour with It; it is Not that I think by any means can add any Light to the Generall of that Campaign the Least of whos advantages and Knoledg far Exseads my Best and Greatiest; However I hoop it will not be unexseptable Since it is the Best Exsplanation I am able to Give of the Battle; the facts I have Laid Down are without the Least partialeti; which I think there is much Need of in Vindeation of your Honour, for I confess it was with Great Surprise the Newmorous and Groundless odd Questions that has Ben put to me on My Return from the Camp and Ellswhair all which I have answered with candor, altho I have Refused to Name them; and have Satisfied numbers of people that has misunderstood the Conduct of affairs as they Express it as it carry with it Good Intintion it is hooped it will met with its Deserved Reward; at the Same tim asking your Pardon for mistakes If any Should be found in it after your Examination.[21]

A new period of library building began when Sir William moved into Johnson Hall at Johnstown in 1763. In his new mansion, designed for more spacious living, further removed from the Mohawk highway, though still to be the center for Indian negotiations, he had his study and could assemble a large collection of books. His interests broadened, and doubtless he would have chosen a less active life than he was destined to follow. The close of the French and Indian War held forth a prospect of calmer times.

While his house was still being built, books and pictures were acquired from James Rivington in New York. The following account lists four consignments, March 21, 1763 to March 8, 1764:[22]

1763

March 21	8 Pictures	6: 8:0
	Smolletts Cont in 4 Vs[23]	2:16:0

[20] Checklist No. 7.
[21] *Johnson Papers*, II:404–05 (January 7, 1756).
[22] *Ibid.*, IV:258–59.
[23] Checklist No. 54.

	Biograph'a Brt'a 5 V[24]	3: 5:0
	A case to pack y[e]. above	0: 2:0
April 13	Sundry Pamphlets & Books Brought by y[e]. Pacquet with the Court Register	3: 6:6
	The Reverie 2 Vs[25]	0:14:0
	Chinese Peice 2 Vs[26]	0:13:0
	Millenium Hall[27]	0: 7:0
	Cheval Pierrepoint 2 V[28]	0:12:0
	The Polite Lady[29]	0: 7:0
Nov. 7	History Louisiana 2 V[30]	0:16:0
	Langhornes Letters[31]	0: 6:0
	London Magaz July Aug. Sep.[32]	0: 4:6
	Pamphlets per Pacq[t].	0: 7:0
	Collections of Scots Caracatures Pictures &c in 2 vols[33]	1:12:0
1764		
Feb. 6	Sundry Books & Pamphlets per Pacq[t].	1: 7:0
20	Sundry D[o]. per Duke Cumb[d]. Pacq[t].	1: 2:6
		£25: 8:6

Rec[d]. the Contents in full Mar 8 1764

JA RIVINGTON

With the outbreak of the Pontiac uprising in 1763, however, Indian affairs took so much of Sir William's time and energies that he seems not to have made another general order for books, but relied on his agents. Newspapers and pamphlets were for-

[24] Checklist No. 5.

[25] Checklist No. 28. Rivington commented: "The Reverie is a Continuation of the Authors first work, y[e]. Adv[s]. of a Guinea; in W[ch]. the same acrimonious Vein is highly preserved & a great variety of leading characters are delineated in the most animated Stile. The others [Chinese Peice, Cheval Pierrepoint, Millenium Hall, and The Polite Lady] I presume may not be altogether unentertaining to the ladies." *Johnson Papers,* IV:86.

[26] Possibly this refers to [Goldsmith, Oliver] *The Citizen of the World; or, Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London, to his Friends in the East,* 2 vols., 1762. When published periodically these were called "Chinese Letters." See *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.*

[27] Checklist No. 39.

[28] Checklist No. 37.

[29] Checklist No. 43.

[30] Checklist No. 33.

[31] Checklist No. 32.

[32] Checklist No. 34.

[33] No such publication has been located.

warded to him by the printers at New York, and Joseph Chew in Connecticut sent Boston papers. Controversy in public affairs was carried on by pamphlets and interested parties frequently presented them with their letters. Our knowledge of Sir William's taste in reading comes, then, in this period, from references to titles in his correspondence.

Thus Hugh Gaine in November 1768 wrote: "I have sent to Boston for a set of Hutchinsons History of Massachusetts Bay," no doubt as the result of a request.[34] Rivington appears to have been chided for the quality of his selection for Sir William, for he wrote, May 3, 1769:[35]

> Mr. OBrien told me you were disgusted with my sending too many of the literary publications from England; to avoid a repetition of that fault permit me [to send such articles as are] worthy of a place in your Library.... [A] few are to be mentioned, Robertson, Author of the History of Scotland [has] published his History of the famous Emperor Charles the 5th of Spain[36] &c; You already have Lord Littleton's History of Henry the 2d.,[37] An Octavo Edition of [ ] Churchill's[38] & a pocket Edition of [ ] hs are to be had with some new plays and the Annual Register the last and several preceding. . . . should any of these be agreable [I will] send them up; An Historical Account of the Campaigns in American in 2 Vols. [ ] by a Captain, who served under Jeffrey Amherst from whose papers and plans it is published, will be in my hands soon.[39]

This complaint was corrected by Sir William, who no doubt felt that his literary taste had not been properly represented by William O'Brien, the actor-husband of Lady Susan, who had recently visited Johnson Hall.

> I have probably observed to Mr. O'Brien that I had received a great many Pamphlets on different Subjects, many of which had very small share of Merit, but I by no means blame You, as they were for the most part on party Subjects which you might naturally Conceive would excite

[34] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed. *Documentary History of New York* (4 vols.; Albany: 1849–51), IV:396. Hereafter cited as *Documentary History*. Checklist No. 26.
[35] *Johnson Papers*, VI:733.
[36] Checklist Nos. 51 and 52.
[37] Checklist No. 36.
[38] Checklist No. 13.
[39] Checklist No. 31.

Curiosity or contribute to Amuse in this retired part of the World, but I think it best (as you have proposed) that you Acquaint me occasionally with any Works of reputation that come to your hands from which I shall Select such as I want, I should be glad you'd send me Lord Littletons History of Henry the 2[d]. and the Annual Regist from 1761 to the last publication Col. Guy Johnson wrote you lately for Wilks & Churchills Works for himself and he would be glad you would also send him Lord Littletons [and] the Registers for 1766, 67 & 68.[40]

It was the content of these pamphlets which riled Sir William, and subsequently Rivington was careful to warn his customer of the bias of these publications. Whately's pamphlet,[41] he wrote, "makes . . . a great Noise, the Americans say that Whately is a sophist and deals not candidly with them whilst the prerogative people say His state of y[e]. controversy is unanswerable. I believe Mr. Dickenson of Philadelphia will anatomize it."[42]

Sir William's knowledge of the Indians and of the American continent was reflected in works which he aided in one way or another, and which subsequently were published. Peter Wraxall, his aide-de-camp and first secretary, who died in 1759, had drawn up "An abridgement of the Records of Indian Affairs . . . transacted in the Coloney of New York from the year 1678 to the year 1751," just before the Albany Congress of 1754, and had forwarded it to Lord Halifax.[43] This had proved influential and Sir William had a high regard for his secretary's ability. Then in January 1755/6 Wraxall transmitted another paper "in consequence of your request and upon the plan I received from you."[44] This has been called one of the best and ablest papers of the period. It was entitled "Some thoughts Upon the British Indian Interest In North America, more particularly as it relates to the

[40] *Johnson Papers*, VI:779.

[41] Checklist No. 59.

[42] *Johnson Papers*, VII:57.

[43] See Charles H. McIlwain, ed., *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, From the Year 1678 to the year 1751, by Peter Wraxall* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915). From the Johnson Manuscripts before it was destroyed in the fire of 1911.

[44] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York* (15 vols., Albany: 1856–87), VII:14.

Northern Confederacy Commonly Called the Six Nations."[45] After Wraxall's death his widow wrote to Sir William:

I have received from England the manuscript wrote by my Beloved friend, and yours, which if you incline to have a copy of, I will forward it by some safe hand, and the last sheets that fell from his Ingenious pen Intitled– Some General Thoughts upon the Security, the Cultivation, and the Commerce of the Northern Colonies of America unfinished, wrote in answer to some queries proposed to him by Dean Tucker, if the perusal would afford you any Satisfaction we are all at your service.[46]

This interest in writings on Indian affairs made the volume by the Reverend Doctor William Smith on Bouquet's expedition a welcome addition to Sir William's Library. The scholar in turn sought Sir William's help in writing on the Indians and the country. Dr. Smith, a leader in the S. P. G., and the provost of the College at Philadelphia, was a leading literary figure. He wrote Sir William January 13, 1766, "I purposed sending you a Copy of Bouquet's Expedition to Muskingam,[47] which I drew up from some papers he favored me with; & which is reprinted in England, & has a very favorable Reception. But I presume you may have received it before."[48] Sir William replied January 30: "I have now by me the Acct of Coll Bouquets Expedition which I read with pleasure & am not Surprized at the Success it met with in England from the Judiciousness of the Work & Character of the Author."[49]

Then in March of that year the Philadelphia merchants Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, chief suppliers of Indian goods for the Indian service wrote:

As the happy Possession of the Illinois Country is the Subject of much Conversation, both in England & America we beg to inclose,–A small

[45] *Ibid.*, VII:15–29. This was in the London documents.

[46] From Elizabeth Wraxall, New York, April 10, 1762. *Johnson Papers*, III:677. Josiah Tucker (1712–1799) was dean of Gloucester. After four years, April 18, 1766, Mrs. Elizabeth Wraxall Maunsell asked for the return of these pages so that her father-in-law, John Wraxall, might copy them. *Ibid.*, V:182. Sir William acknowledged the request and promised to return the papers, May 10, 1766. *Ibid.*, V:207. Blanks in those published letters have been filled in from the notes of Dr. C. H. McIlwain.

[47] Checklist No. 53.

[48] *Johnson Papers*, V:10.

[49] *Ibid.*, V:24.

pamphlet, wrote lately On a very interesting Point—To wit, the Establishment of a civil Government there;—(The Author has borrowed some of his Sentiments from Mon^r. De Pratz.)—[50]

Sir William's support of missionary enterprise was no doubt responsible for his receiving a work on Greenland from the Moravians:

I have the Pleasure of transmitting to Your Excellency the Greenland History in 2 Vols, wrote by David Cranz one of our Brethren; which we beg Your kind acceptance of. The first Vol: Containing a Description of the Country and the natural Curiosities of that cold Climate, I flatter myself, may not prove Unentertaining and the second, I imagine will convey to Your Exellency the truest and best Idea of the Brethrens Method of propagating the Gospel amongst the Savage Nations.[51]

Sir William was now recognized as something of an authority on the Iroquois Indians, and his aid was sought by scholars and writers. In February 1771 he wrote a letter to Dr. Arthur Lee of London which was printed in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society, in which he discussed the customs, language and beliefs of Indians as he had observed them. This led to further correspondence with Dr. Lee, as well as to requests from others.[52] One of the latter, from Dr. William Robertson, the celebrated Principal of the University of Edinburgh who was working on his *History of America*, was unanswered at his death, and answers to the 31 questions propounded were written out by Sir William's successor, Guy Johnson.[53]

Another writer on America who sought Sir William's aid was James Adair, who visited Johnson Hall in 1769, and subse-

[50] *Ibid.*, V:127. Checklist No. 33.

[51] John Arbo, Sec'y to the Moravians, to Sir William Johnson. Bethlehem, January 6, 1768. *Documentary History*, IV:374–75. Checklist No. 16.

[52] Sir William Johnson to Arthur Lee, Feb. 28, 1771, printed in *Documentary History*, IV:430–37; and also in W. L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.* (Albany: 1865), II: 479–86. The original version in the Johnson Manuscripts (see *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts*, Albany, 1909, p. 480) was combined with that published by the Royal Society, in the documents. Another draft, dated March 28, 1771, is in the Harvard University Library, and will be published in *Johnson Papers*, Vol. XII.

[53] See "Guy Johnson's Opinions of the American Indian," edited by Milton W. Hamilton, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVII, No. 3 (July 1953), pp. 311–27.

quently wrote several letters to his patron, "My great Hybernian Mecaenas." These sought Sir William's aid in promoting the publication of his work on "y^e^. Origins of y^e^. American Indians," "as yo've approved of my Indian performance, from y^r^. own knowledge and accurate observations." Sir William sent subscriptions for the work for himself and family and "Two or three others."[54] But he was not to live to receive the printed work, for its first edition appeared in 1775.[55]

During this period also, two of Sir William's principal interests, the Indians and the missions of the S. P. G., led him to sponsor and publish a revised edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, translated into the Mohawk tongue. The first edition of the Mohawk Prayer Book had been brought out by the Reverend William Andrews, S. P. G. Missionary at Albany, and was printed in New York in 1715.[56] Its usefulness to the successive missionaries sent to the Iroquois is attested by its later scarcity and the demand for a new edition. Already there was some criticism of it, and Sir William had Daniel Claus, whose knowledge of Mohawk was supplemented by some European education not often found among interpreters, making corrections.[57] The Rev. Dr. William Barclay was given the principal task of getting out the new edition, and Sir William also asked that some additions be made. Writing to Dr. Barclay, October 16, 1763, Sir William outlined the plan of the work:

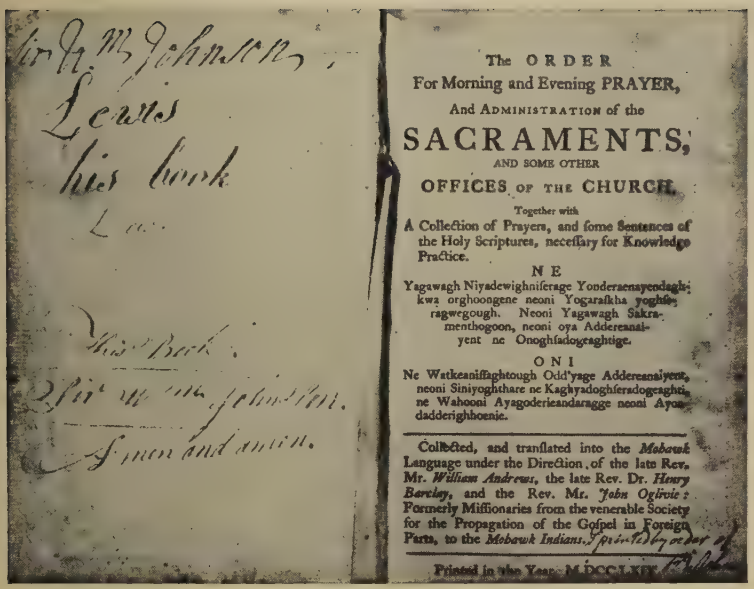
> When I was last at New York I acquainted you with my design of having a new Edition of the Indian Prayer Book printed of which you were pleased to undertake the inspection.
>
> I now therefore, herewith transmit you the old Edition, which as it wanted the Singing Psalms, I therefore send you such of them in Manuscript as I have been able to procure, together with the Communion

[54] James Adair, Esq. to Sir William Johnson, April 30, 1769; a second letter, undated, received April 18, 1769, probably dated March 30; and Sir William to James Adair, May 10, 1769. *Documentary History*, IV:412–16.

[55] James Adair, *A History of the American Indians* (London: 1775). See *Adair's History of the American Indians*, S. C. Willams, ed. (Johnson City, Tenn.: 1930), for notes on Sir William's aid.

[56] Checklist No. 47.

[57] *Johnson Papers*, X:263,333. This was in 1761.



The ORDER
For Morning and Evening PRAYER,
And ADMINISTRATION of the
SACRAMENTS,
AND SOME OTHER
OFFICES OF THE CHURCH,
Together with
A Collection of Prayers, and some Sentences of the Holy Scriptures, neceſſary for Knowledge Practice.

NE
Yagawagh Niyadewighniſerage Yonderaenayendagh: kwa orghoongene neoni Yogaraſkha yoghſe, ragwegough. Neoni Yagawagh Sakramenthogoon, neoni oya Addereanaiyent ne Onoghſadogeaghtige.

ONI
Ne Watkeaniſſaghtough Odd'yage Addereanaiyent, neoni Siniyoghthare ne Kaghyadoghſeradogeaghti ne Wahooni Ayagoderieandaragge neoni Ayondadderighhoenie.

Collected, and tranſlated into the *Mohawk* Language under the Direction of the late Rev. Mr. *William Andrews*, the late Rev. Dr. *Henry Barclay*, and the Rev. Mr. *John Oglivie*: Formerly Miſſionaries from the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, to the *Mohawk Indians*. Printed by order of

Printed in the Year MDCCLXIV.

FLYLEAF AND TITLE PAGE: CHECKLIST NO. 48
From the John Carter Brown Library copy

Service & Public Baptism of Infants &c. which they would be desirous to have inserted, as also some Prayers of the propriety of which you are the most proper Judge, you will therefore please to do therein as you shall Judge best.

You will please to direct that there be printed 400 Setts on a better type, and paper than that of the Former and as the Square Figure of that Edition rendered it somewhat inconvenient the present may make a handsome small Octavo.

In order to bestow on principal People, I would chuse to have 20 Setts out of the beforementioned 400 printed on fine Paper & type and neatly bound, Lettered on the back and gilt, of two Setts of which I must beg your acceptance, & that you will make any alterations or additions which you may think necessary thro'out the work ordering the same to be bound in such manner as you shall judge most fitting.[58]

Dr. Barclay in 1763 assigned the job of printing the prayer book to William Weyman, who was at that time printer for the

[58] *Documentary History*, IV:321–22.

Colonial government of New York.[59] Later in the year Weyman reported difficulty in obtaining supplies of "particular Sorts, such as—g's—k's—y's—&c."[60] The death of Dr. Barclay the following year left Weyman in the midst of the work; furthermore he had found so many errors that he thought it best to call on Daniel Claus again for further revisions.[61] The work dragged until March 25, 1766, when Weyman wrote "The Indian Book stil lies dead." But now a new hand was called in the person of the Reverend John Ogilvie, an old associate of Sir William as missionary in Albany from 1750 to 1760, who had now become a curate at Trinity in New York.[62] Ogilvie completed the revision, but before the printing was done, William Weyman died, July 18, 1768, a bankrupt. The printing and binding of the book was now turned over to Hugh Gaine, who deplored the mess—the unfulfilled obligations, and the sheets partially printed, for some of which 400 had been struck off. This at least determined the size of the edition.[63] Surprising it is therefore that the volume finally appeared in 1769.

Copies of the 1769 edition of the Mohawk Prayer Book have been found in several libraries,[64] but particular interest attaches to the 20 or 24 which were ordered especially bound in red morocco with gilt tooling. Four of these have been located.[65] That in the John Carter Brown Library appears to be Sir William's copy since it has his name inscribed, an approximation of his signature. That in the Huntington Library was presented by Sir William

[59] *Ibid.*, IV:326–27.
[60] *Ibid.*, IV:334–35.
[61] *Ibid.*, IV:340–41, 343–44.
[62] *Ibid.*, IV:364.
[63] *Ibid.*, IV:384–86.
[64] Checklist No. 48. Copies have been located in the New York State Library; the New York Public Library; The New-York Historical Society; The Pierrepont Morgan Library, New York City; The William H. Scheide Library, Titusville, Pa.; The Newberry Library, Chicago; and the Williams College Library. Some of these are association items. The Newberry Library copy was owned by Jabez M. Fisher, dated 1773. In that year Fisher made a tour through New York State and visited Johnson Hall, as recorded in his diary.
[65] The John Carter Brown Library; American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia; the Princeton University Library; and the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

to an Oneida Indian. The American Philosophical Society copy was represented to the Reverend Thomas Barton of Lancaster, Pa., by the Reverend John Stuart, missionary at Fort Hunter. Perhaps it is remarkable that even this number of books which were so much used and abused should have survived.

Sir William was not entirely satisfied with the work, and on February 17, 1774, wrote the Reverend Henry Caner:

> I am not at all surprised that there are errors in a Work of that Nature, the imperfect knowledge of their Language, & the difficulty of establishing its orthography must occasion many, & indeed the last edition tho' partly overlooked by myself, & printed at my desire, & the Press corrected under the Inspection of a Clergyman at N. York who was acquainted with the language is nevertheless faulty in many places.[66]

He went on to explain his intention for further religious publications. "I am now endeavouring at present to get materials for a Completion of a brief History of the Bible to contain, a short Historical deduction of facts & incidents in a regular & well connected order, which I am inclined to think will be of much use to the Indians."[67] At the time of Sir William's death in 1774, the Reverend John Stuart was at work on the translation of the Gospel of St. Mark into Mohawk, assisted by Joseph Brant, and in lamenting the death of his patron feared that these translations might not now be published.[68] Surely no one else was so much interested in the promotion of these Mohawk publications.

Like other Colonial gentlemen interested in public affairs, of church and state, Sir William was a reader of sermons, as his correspondence testifies. Sermons, of course, were an important product of the provincial press. Distinguished divines made use of the press not only to preserve their eloquence on spiritual subjects, but also to promote ecclesiastical and political projects. As an advocate of missions and a patron of the S. P. G., Sir William had distinguished correspondents among the clergy, who

[66] *Johnson Papers*, VIII:1039–40.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] John Stuart to Secretary [of S. P. G.], Fort Hunter, August 9, 1774, in S. P. G. Transcripts, New-York Historical Society.

remembered him with their published sermons. Dr. Samuel Achmuty of Trinity Church, New York, was thanked by Sir William February 24, 1767, "for that Excellent Discourse you sent me, as preached at the Opening of the New Church." This referred to St. Paul's Chapel, which was opened October 30, 1766.[69] In 1767, too, the eminent clergyman Thomas Bradbury Chandler published a well-known tract, *Appeal in behalf of the Church of England in America*.[70] The Reverend Myles Cooper, President of King's College, on November 6, 1767, sent a copy of this to Sir William at the request of the author.[71] This was a tract in behalf of an Anglican episcopate in America and was warmly endorsed by Sir William in a letter to Dr. Chandler.[72] Further tracts by the clergyman were sent on to Sir William who again praised the course taken on this controversial issue.[73] The Reverend Charles Inglis, then at Kings College, also sent on July 29, 1772, "a pamphlet relative to Bishops lately published," which was a tract issued by the clergy of New York and New Jersey, written by Dr. Myles Cooper.[74] In acknowledging this, August 27, 1772, Sir William mentioned another tract:

> The Copy of the Memorial you were so kind as to send me is very agreable & I thank you also for the address to the Episcopalians of Virginia, which is a very spirited piece & I wish it success, but I fancy those to whom it is addressed are lukewarm Church Men, and not too fond of Independency to Relish Superiors.[75]

Thus there came into Sir William's library another work on the Indians, the pamphlet of Charles Inglis on their conversion,

[69] *Johnson Papers*, V:503. Checklist No. 3.
[70] Checklist No. 10.
[71] *Johnson Papers*, V:780.
[72] December 1, 1767. *Ibid.*, V: 835–36.
[73] July 10, 1771. *Ibid.*, VIII: 187. This refers to the "farther defence" of Dr. Chandler. After his first *Appeal* in 1767, he published a defence of his appeal, 1769; and the "farther defence" of his appeal in 1771. According to this letter, it was the last which was sent, but apparently lost in transit. Checklist Nos. 11 and 12. See Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (Harvard Historical Studies, IX; New York: 1902).
[74] *Johnson Papers*, VIII:553. Checklist No. 15.
[75] *Ibid.*, VIII:583–84.

which was written under the surveillance of Sir William and which embodied his criticisms and suggestions.[76] In writing about the preparation of this Memorial, October 23, 1771, Mr. Inglis acknowledged Sir William's views and suggestions:

> The amendment you proposed with Respect to Farmers & Mechanics is made. Everything relative to them, except Smiths, is struck out. I confess it was more out of Compliance with common Prejudices that induced me to insert any thing about Farmers & Carpenters, than from a Conviction of their utility. But your Hint determined me immediately to leave out everything that was said about them. The article concerning Smiths is retained; because you did not object to it, & the Government formerly allowed them.
>
> By Col. Johnson's Direction I inserted a few more Particulars. Pondiacs' affair is more fully stated—the Ravages occasioned by the Insurrection which he headed are more minutely delineated, being of great Consequence to remove the Notion of our being out of any Danger from the Indians, as we are Masters of Canada. A few Reflections are also added concerning the Western Indians, whose Jealousy is raised by our Conquest of Canada, & by which we have more Enemies among them now than formerly; as many Nations, to whom the English were little known before, & whom the French taught to despise us, now observe us with a Jealous Eye. And lastly, I have thrown out a Hint near the Conclusion, how much more agreeable to the Indians the solemnity of our Worship is than that of the Dissenters—that the Indians esteem the National Religion most, being professed by the King; & that it would be more eligible to entrust their Conversion to Clergymen of the Church of England, by which their Fidelity to the Crown would be indubitably secured, than to Dissenting Teachers.
>
> Having made these alterations and additional besides a few others that were necessary as the Memorial was not to go in your Name, I had it copied out fair in a good Hand, & in a Quarto Size; and having a Marble cover, with Col. Johnson's accurate & neat Map prefixed, made a Handsome looking Pamphlet.[77]

[76] "A Memorial Concerning the Iroquois or Five Confederate Nations of Indians in the Province of New York: in which their present state numbers and situation are set forth; arguments why government should interpose for their conversion to Christianity and reduction to a civilised state are adduced; a plan for their conversion is laid down; circumstances which promise success to such an attempt at this time are pointed out, and some objections to the design are obviated. Humbly Addressed To the Right Honorable the Earl of Hillsborough. By Rev. Charles Inglis, of Trinity Church, N. Y." *Documentary History*, IV:1089–1117.

[77] *Ibid.*, IV:468. The Reverend Mr. Inglis had asked in a postscript to his letter of Aug. 19, 1771, "Could a Map of the Country of the Iroquois be transmitted with the Memorial, pointing out the different Races there mentioned." *Ibid.*, IV:459. As a

Some sermons were sent along because they reflected on the work among the Indians or Sir William's part in it. Inglis wrote, March 28, 1770:

Agreeable to Your Desire I send You the Society's Sermon for 1769. It was preached by the excellent Bishop Newton[78] who is justly celebrated for his *Dissertations on the Prophecies*. In the Sermon you will find several Reflections to animate our Endeavors in spreading the Light of the Gospel among the Indians. Be pleased also to accept of a *Discourse* written by the great & good Dr. Cudworth[79] which I had lately reprinted here to counteract some Enthusiastic Notions in Religion which have gained Ground among us.[80]

It was not in religious and missionary affairs alone, however, that Mr. Inglis found a kindred spirit in Sir William, as his next paragraph and the inclosure testify:

Party Spirit ranges still with great Violence. Our good Friends, the Whigs will neither be quiet themselves, nor suffer others to live in Peace. A late Transaction about our *Liberty-Pole* gave rise to a *Cantata* which I send, because it may divert you. It is written with much Spirit, Wit & Humour; & has mortified the Whigs to the last Degree.[81]

Sir William's work for the S. P. G. was also mentioned in the anniversary sermon of 1771. James Rivington wrote, May 6, 1771:

The very justly Celebrated D. Lowth Bishop of Oxford in a Sermon before the Society for propagating the Gospell in foreign parts has expressed himself with vast Respect of Sir William Johnsons Gracious Endeavors to second the Intentions of their Society in America. The

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result of this, Guy Johnson made his "Map of the Country of the VI Nations," which was addressed to Governor Tryon, and inserted with the Memorial. See the note, *Ibid.*, IV:1090, describing the recovery by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan of this manuscript of Inglis from Nova Scotia, and the separate discovery of Guy Johnson's map. The map was then reproduced for the first time in the *Documentary History*.

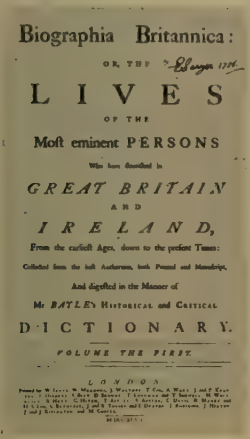
[78] Checklist No. 41.

[79] Checklist No. 17.

[80] *Johnson Papers*, VII:508–09.

[81] *Ibid.*, VII:509. The "transaction" around the liberty pole was known as the "Golden Hill affair," in which troops fired upon the demonstrators. The Cantata has not been found.

Sermon is printing and I will send it up as soon as I receive it. I saw a paragraph mentioning it in the London papers.[82]


Biographia Britannica:

OR THE

LIVES

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

GREAT BRITAIN

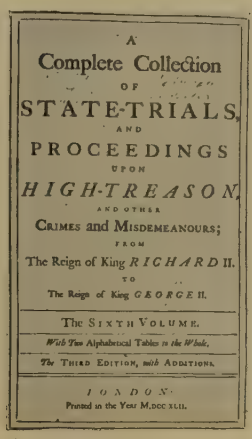
AND

IRELAND,

DICTIONARY.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON


A

Complete Collection

OF

STATE-TRIALS,

AND

PROCEEDINGS

UPON

HIGH-TREASON,

AND OTHER

CRIMES and MISDEMEANOURS;

FROM

The Reign of King RICHARD II.

TO

The Reign of King GEORGE II.

THE SIXTH VOLUME.

With Two Alphabetical Tables to the Whole.

The THIRD EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year M,DCC XLII.

TITLE PAGES: CHECKLIST NOS. 5 AND 57 [6 VOLS. WITH BOOKPLATES]

From the NYHS copies

Whether Rivington sent it or not, the Reverend Mr. Inglis sent a copy of the sermon by "Mr. Finn [Phyn] just setting out for Schenectady," with his letter of August 19, 1771, noting the approval by Bishop Lowth, "one of the first Characters in England for Erudition, Piety & Abilities," for "the Plan we have now under consideration"; and observing "with singular satisfaction the just Compliment his Lordship pays you at page 24 of the Sermon, tho he does not name you."[83]

Finally, the Reverend William Smith sent copies of his sermons from Philadelphia for distribution by Sir William:

I send, by Mr. Stuart, 6 Copies of my *Sermon* before the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows & Children of our distress'd Clergy; in which Corporation we have done ourselves the Honor to insert your Name, knowing your great Readiness to Countenance every humane & Charitable Work. Perhaps you have received the Sermon already from

[82] *Ibid.*, VIII:98. Checklist No. 35.
[83] *Documentary History*, IV:457.

Dr. Auchmuty. If so, those I send may be put into the Hands of some of your Friends, if you should think the Sermon worthy of that Honor.[84]

It is quite logical that one so involved in public affairs as Sir William should have been particularly interested in works on history, government, and law. Mentioned above were Robertson's *History of Scotland*, his *History of Charles V of Spain* and Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*. And with this serious reading there were such reference books as *Biographia Britannica* and *Chambers' Dictionary*. In the midst of Indian difficulties, May 17, 1764, he wrote a postscript to Rivington: "I should be glad you would procure *a new History of the World* by Guthrie & Gray which is now I find printing off in London, a vol. each month."[85]

Another history was mentioned in the course of a long letter from the Reverend Charles Inglis, not only describing and endorsing the contents, but implying its inclusion in Sir William's library:

> I mentioned to You, when at Johnson Hall, a little History of England written by Lord Orrery,[86] & lately published. It is the best History of the English Constitution I have met with; & gives in a nervous, elegant Style, a judicious Account of its gradual Progress & Advances to its present State. . . . In the second Volume there is very honourable Mention made of your Military Operations during the last War. I would send you this History;[87] but Mr. Adams [Robert Adems, Sir William's bookkeeper] thinks you have it already. If not, be pleased to let me know, & I will send it by the first Opportunity.

Books in this category form the principal items now extant which actually were in Sir William's library, as evidenced by his bookplate.

The preparation of a bookplate with provision for the enumer-

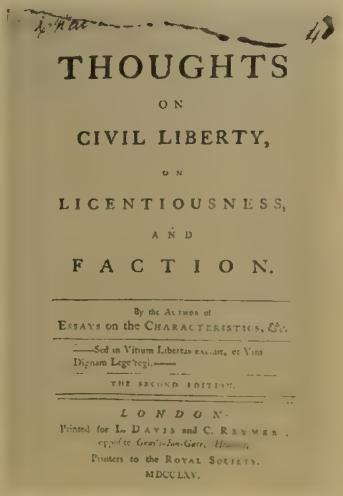
[84] March 31, 1770. *Johnson Papers*, VII:518. Checklist No. 54.

[85] *Documentary History*, II:808. Checklist No. 24.

[86] John Boyle, fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery (1707–1762), incorrectly given as "Lord Omry" in *Johnson Papers*, VII:765–66: Original letter, dated June 21, 1770, is in The New-York Historical Society.

[87] Checklist No. 22. This work is attributed to Oliver Goldsmith; but Halkett and Laing (II:1136) are cited as authority for the statement: "The work has been ascribed to the Earl of Orrery and to Lord Lyttelton."

ation of one's books, in Colonial times, was certainly evidence of a considerable library. Whether Sir William's bookplate was the by-product of his desire for a coat of arms, or vice versa, we cannot say. While he expressed an interest in the Johnson Arms as early as 1749/50, he apparently was not satisfied with his brother Warren's attempts to copy them. After the award of his baronetcy, a coat of arms would seem necessary. Yet it was not until 1762 that they appeared on a map of Sir William's Niagara Campaign, engraved by De Bruls of New York. Michael De Bruls corresponded with him in January 1763 about engraving the arms, and printing and coloring them. The price was too high and apparently Sir William ordered the printing of 1,000 only, without color.[88] The plates had "No." in the lower right corner, and on them Sir William began the numbering of his books.



THOUGHTS

ON

CIVIL LIBERTY,

ON

LICENTIOUSNESS,

AND

FACTION.

By the Author of

ESSAYS on the CHARACTERISTICKS, &c.

—Sed in Vitium Libertas excidit, et Vim

Dignam Lege regi.—

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS,

opposite Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn,

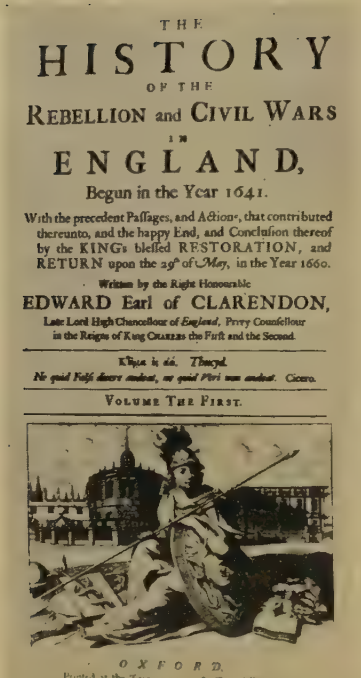
Printers to the ROYAL SOCIETY.

MDCCLXV.

JOHNSON'S BOOKPLATE; TITLE PAGE: CHECKLIST NO. 58

From the Fort Ticonderoga Museum copy

[88] *Johnson Papers*, III:viii-xii. For the map of the Niagara Campaign with Sir William's arms see *Ibid.*, III:81.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,
Begun in the Year 1641.

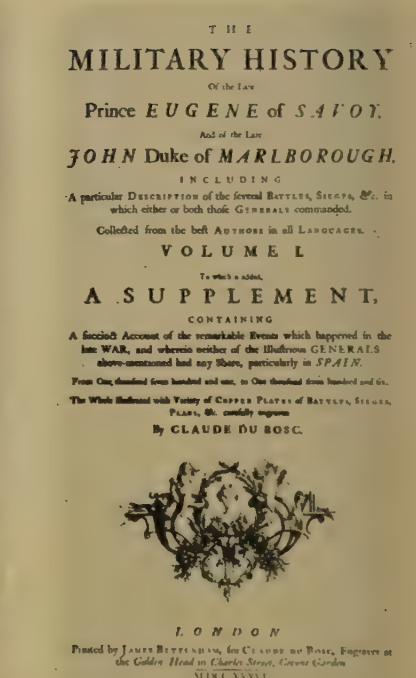
With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
Late Lord High Chancellour of *England*, Privy Counſellour in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Regna ſic. Tacyd.
Ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATER, Anno Dom. MDCCII.



THE
MILITARY HISTORY
Of the Late
Prince *EUGENE* of *SAVOY*,
And of the Late
JOHN Duke of *MARLBOROUGH*.
INCLUDING
A particular DESCRIPTION of the ſeveral BATTLES, SIEGES, &c. in which either or both thoſe GENERALS commanded.
Collected from the beſt AUTHORS in all LANGUAGES.

VOLUME I.

To which is added,
A SUPPLEMENT,
CONTAINING
A ſucciſt Account of the remarkable Events which happened in the late WAR, and wherein neither of the illuſtrious GENERALS above-mentioned had any Share, particularly in *SPAIN*.

From One thouſand ſeven hundred and one, to One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix.

The Whole Illuſtrated with Variety of COPPER PLATES of BATTLES, SIEGES, PLANS, &c. carefully engraven.

By CLAUDE DU BOSC.

LONDON
Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM, for CLAUDE DU BOSC, Engraver at the *Golden Head* in *Charles Street*, Covent-Garden
MDCC XXXI

TITLE PAGES: CHECKLIST NOS. 14 AND 38

From Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins' copies with bookplates 4 to 8

Five titles in the possession of Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins of Schenectady have been handed down through descendants of the De Lancey family. Two of these are of large folio size. One is a celebrated work of history, Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, in three volumes.[59] The bookplates on this set are numbered 4, 5 and 6. How appropriate was this for one with the military experience of Sir William. In this class too falls *The Military History of the Late Prince Eugene of Savoy, and of the Late John Duke of Marlborough*.[60] These two volumes bear the

[59] Checklist No. 14.
[60] Checklist No. 38.

numbers 7 and 8. Johnson's interest in government and public affairs is also attested by the volume of Pownall's *The Administration of the Colonies*, mentioned above, and a volume of the *Annual Register*, no doubt but one of many periodical volumes.[91] The fifth work in the possession of Miss Watkins is a Latin liturgy for the Church of England. This bears Sir William's bookplate numbered 298.[92]

Another significant set which has survived from Sir William's library, and is now in the possession of The New-York Historical Society is a set of six massive folio volumes, *State Trials of England*, 1742, each volume of which bears his signature and bookplate.[93] Sir William's interest in legal trials is also attested by his being sent, in November 1770, "the Duke of Cumberlands and Mr. George Onslows trials," both celebrated cases of that year.[94]

Hugh Gaine wrote on July 28, 1772, probably in response to a request, "I have sent you a set of Blackstone's Commentaries at £3:4:0 the Dublin Edition, the Philadelphia Edition not being yet finished."[95]

Also significant is another volume found to have Sir William's bookplate, *Thoughts on Civil Liberty*, 1745,[96] in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. This small volume has bookplate number 401. What a manual this was to have at hand, albeit from the conservative side, as one approached the stirring crises of the Colonies in the last years of Sir William's life!

An Irishman who enjoyed good living, scholarship, and culture, it is evident that Sir William also had a sense of humor. A number of allusions, and some anecdotes which may be legendary, testify to this, and it is not hard to believe. We have seen from several books mentioned that he enjoyed political satire.

[91] Checklist Nos. 44 and 2.
[92] Checklist No. 46.
[93] Checklist No. 56.
[94] *Johnson Papers*, VII:1015. See Checklist Nos. 25 and 42.
[95] Hugh Gaine to Sir William, July 28, 1772. New York State Library, Tayler-Cooper Collection. To be printed in *Johnson Papers*, Vol. XII. Checklist No. 6.
[96] Checklist No. 58.

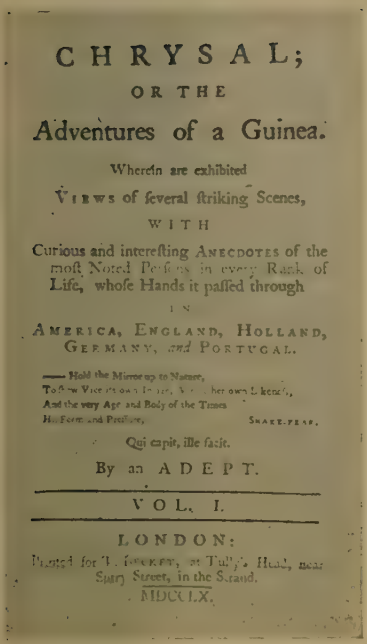
He had the works of Charles Churchill, an associate of John Wilkes with whom Sir William had little sympathy, and Churchill was known for his satires. Another leading satirist, Charles Johnstone, was represented in Sir William's library by *The Reverie*. And now comes the best testimony of all, for one of the most celebrated satires of the age, Johnstone's *Chrysal*, was expressly brought over for the baronet. Thereon hangs an interesting tale.

Chrysal; or the Adventures of a Guinea[97] was originally published at London in 1760, in two volumes, and enjoyed a tremendous popularity. In 1765 two supplementary volumes were brought out, and new editions continued to come out through the century and even on into the nineteenth. The form was unusual, the autobiography of a coin, the gold guinea, which passed from owner to owner. Each "master's" way of life, follies and vices were depicted, and while no names were mentioned the satire was broad enough to make identification easy. By this device shocking, scandalous and sensational behaviour was attributed to many public figures and political hits were notorious. It might be compared with today's gossip columns or more particularly to recent "Confidential" volumes.

Students of Sir William Johnson have known, as did contemporaries, that a satire on his way of life appeared in Volume III of *Chrysal;* that is, in one of the supplemental volumes which first appeared in 1765. It described the Indian diplomat as a man of great capacity, living in the midst of a Mohawk harem, his Indian mistresses each having her domicile on his estate. This absurd picture helped to spread a notorious reputation, so that even in the nineteenth century the biographer W. L. Stone stated his purpose to correct the distortions of Charles Johnstone.[98]

When John Johnson was in England in 1765–66, he was no doubt impressed by the popularity of *Chrysal*, and sought to

[97] Checklist No. 27.
[98] W. L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart*, I:57 n.



CHRYSAL;

OR THE

Adventures of a Guinea.

Wherein are exhibited

VIEWS of ſeveral ſtriking Scenes,

WITH

Curious and intereſting ANECDOTES of the moſt Noted Perſons in every Rank of Life, whoſe Hands it paſſed through

IN

AMERICA, ENGLAND, HOLLAND, GERMANY, *and* PORTUGAL.

—— Hold the Mirror up to Nature,
To ſhew Vice her own Feature, Virtue her own Image,
And the very Age and Body of the Times
His Form and Preſſure. SHAKE-PEAR.

Qui capit, ille facit.

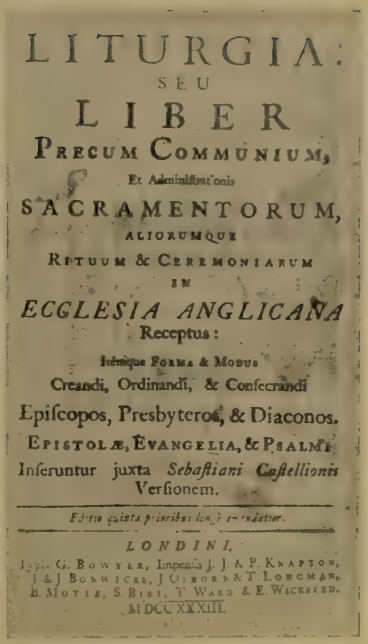
By an ADEPT.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Lowndes, at Tully's Head, near Surry Street, in the Strand.

MDCC LX.



LITURGIA:

SEU

LIBER

PRECUM COMMUNIUM,

Et Adminiſtrationis

SACRAMENTORUM,

ALIORUMQUE

RITUUM & CEREMONIARUM

IN

ECCLESIA ANGLICANA

Receptus:

Ipſiſque FORMA & MODUS

Creandi, Ordinandi, & Conſecrandi

Epiſcopos, Presbyteros, & Diaconos.

EPISTOLÆ, EVANGELIA, & PSALMI

Inſeruntur juxta *Sebaſtiani Caſtellionis* Verſionem.

Editio quinta prioribus longe emendatior.

LONDINI.

Typis G. BOWYER, Impenſis J. J. & P. KNAPTON, J. & J. BONWICKE, J. OSBORN & T. LONGMAN, B. MOTTE, S. BIRT, T. WARD & E. WICKSTEED.

MDCCXXXIII.

TITLE PAGES: CHECKLIST NOS. 27 AND 46

Left: First edition owned by Mr. Milton W. Hamilton

Right: Johnson's copy (bookplate 298) owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins

send a copy to his father. Daniel Claus wrote him about the unusual circumstances attending this gift:

Mr Flood[99] has visited America again and says you sent him to be yr. overseer, altho your last Letter rather contradicts that part of his Story by your Mentioning Mr. Byrne Now & than to inspect your farm the former certainly is no credit to the family, & would be much better from it I think he landed in Virginia or Maryland and passing the Provinces on his Way hither he accordg. to Custom was never sober if he could help it and then, as you know, the Man made rather too free with your & yr. fathers Names that he was so much beloved & intimate with both. . . . these things must appear very odd to Strangers when they Survey the person that utters the Story, he raised a Mop [*sic*] before Fr. Wade's

[99] Thomas Flood was Sir William's bouwmaster, or overseer, who had been discharged for his irregular habits.

Door at Philad[a]. because he would not give him Money to redeem at a Tavern two vol[s]. of Chrysal which he said you desired him to deliver with his own hand to your father. . . .[100]

There is more about Flood's behavior, his getting himself in jail in the Jerseys, and his overseeing Fort Johnson for Sir John. A letter from Francis Wade, April 11, 1766, implies that the books were redeemed and sent on to Sir William.[101] Whether the two subsequent volumes with their chapters on Sir William were acquired later we have no way of knowing.

Were it not also a customary preoccupation with gentlemen of the day, medical studies would have had an interest for Sir William because of his numerous ailments and constant search for remedies. His wound suffered in 1755 at Lake George plagued him all his life, and he had an assortment of other ills which would make a study in themselves. He frequently resorted to doctors, took several trips to the seashore and to medicinal springs (first to Lebanon Springs on the border of New England, and later to Saratoga), and sent to his merchants in New York orders for medicines. As early as 1750, while his health was still good, he informed Peter Kalm of the Indians' use of the herb *Lobelia* for the cure of syphilis;[102] and as a result of this he was sought out by Dr. Gale of Killingworth, Connecticut, in 1768 for further information concerning native cures.[103] All of this presumes that his reading would include the medical books of the day.

In 1764 Witham Marsh wrote Sir William about his orders being filled by the printer, among which was Quincey's *Dispensatory*, "which so particularly points out the proper Medicines for every Disorder."[104] Sir William's friends often expressed

[100] Daniel Claus to John Johnson, Albany, May 13, 1766. Claus Papers, Canadian Archives.

[101] *Johnson Papers*, V:162. The letter is damaged by fire, but enough remains to indicate the reference.

[102] Esther Louise Larsen, "Lobelia as a Sure Cure for Venereal Disease," reprinted from *American Journal of Syphilis, Gonorrhea and Venereal Diseases*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 1940), pp. 6–7, quotes Peter Kalm on his information from Sir William.

[103] Benjamin Gale to Sir William Johnson, Feb. 24, and Oct. 24, 1768. In Historical Society of Pennsylvania. To be published in *Johnson Papers*, Vol. XII.

[104] Checklist No. 49.

concern for his health, as did Benjamin Roberts in a letter from London, September 1, 1771:

> As there is no ones health that I so much wish to establish . . . I inclose you Doctor Codogan's treatise,[105] it is universally read, & I have heard some Gentlemen of the Citty declare that not one third of the Port is drunk now, that was drunk before its' publication.[106]

These titles are but an indication of the scope of Sir William's library for there are frequent orders, reports and invoices of books in the correspondence which do not mention titles. In the last few years of his life, Sir William relied on the printer Hugh Gaine, who wrote, May 7, 1772: "This goes to Albany under the care of Abraham Yates, Esq. with 7 Sets of the Laws and 4 Conductor Generalis, which I hope you'll receive; also the Laws of the last session for Col. Guy and Sir John. . . ."[107] The next year, October 25, 1773, Gaine reported: "The Set of the Gentleman's Magazines I had were sold a few days ago for £29 Currency, and in Case you have an Inclination for a Set, I suppose they can be got in London. . . ." In the accompanying order he listed "1 Common Prayer" and "1 Telemachus."[108]

Nor were all the books intended for use in the Hall. Sir William's patronage of the free school in Johnstown, the first such in New York, naturally extended to books. Gaine wrote, May 17, 1774, reporting a consignment of books sent on the sloop for Albany. Then he commented:

> Ashe's Grammatical Institutes is not to be had in this Place, but they may perhaps come over in Cooper, and if they do, you may depend one Dozen Shall be transmitted you
>
> Your large Ledger is in Hands, and I hope will be ready in the Course of this Week, when it shall be immediately forwarded
>
> I should be glad to know the Books intended to be used in Sir Williams free School that I Should have it in my Power to supply its Wants.[109]

[105] Checklist No. 8.
[106] *Johnson Papers,* VIII:243.
[107] *Ibid.,* VIII:465.
[108] *Ibid.,* VIII:910. Checklist No. 20.
[109] *Ibid.,* VIII:1156. The "large Ledger," a thick folio blank volume with headings for Sir William's tenants and debtors, was never used but is now on exhibition in Johnson Hall.

In this last period too is the letter from young Peter, son of Sir William and Molly Brant, who was then being tutored in Philadelphia: "I would be glad you would Bring me some french & English Books to read at Leasure hours, & an Indian Book, for I am Afraid I'll lose my Indian Toungue If I dont practice it more than I do."[110]

This indeed was a working library. One might speculate, too, on the many contemporary books which though unrecorded in the correspondence, must have found their way to Sir William's shelves in view of his interests. It is inconceivable that he would not have had, and read, Robert Rogers' *Journals* published in London in 1765, or his *Concise Account of North America*, which came out the same year. He would also have seen Rogers' play *Ponteach*, one of the first dramas of the New World, of which he would have been no doubt a critic. Lewis Evans, the map-maker, was known to him and no doubt his works reached the shelves of Johnson Hall. Many other authors and works could be suggested for the reconstruction of this library.

While Sir William was still living, both Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, his sons-in-law, were building up their libraries, and the correspondence of the latter with Sir John Johnson while in England contains lists of books to be ordered. The close association of these households implies kindred interests and we might well assume that the tastes of Claus were influenced by Sir William.

It may not be feasible to reassemble even the works listed above in the restored Johnson Hall. Perhaps they are only an inkling of the resources of this private library and we may do an injustice in assuming that such a fragmentary list is typical. Yet it is evident that a considerable library of varied content graced this baronial home and no doubt had some influence upon its cultural life.

[110] *Ibid.*, VIII:1140.

PARTIAL CHECKLIST OF BOOKS IN SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S LIBRARY

Items marked with a star (*) have been found with Sir William's bookplate or signature. The depositories where copies are to be found, or catalogue references to the titles, are indicated by letters: NYHS, The New-York Historical Society; NYSL, New York State Library; JCB, John Carter Brown Library; LC, Library of Congress Catalogue; BM, British Museum Catalogue; CBEL, Cambridge Bibliography of England Literature; S, Sabin; NYPL, New York Public Library.

1. *Amaryllis: Consisting of Such Songs as are Most Esteemed.* London: T. J., and sold by Mr. Cooper, J. Wood and I. Tyther [1747?]. CBEL.

*2. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature of the Year 1758. The Second Edition.* London: Printed for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1761. Owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins. Sir William's bookplate No. 83.

3. [Auchmuty, Samuel,] *A Sermon, Preached at the Opening of St. Paul's Chapel, in the City of New York, On the Thirtieth Day of October, A.D. 1766. By Samuel Auchmuty, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church; and Chaplain to the Right Hon. William, Earl of Stirling. . . . Published at the Request of the Church Wardens and Vestry.* New-York: Printed and sold by H. Gaine, at His Book-Store, and Printing-Office, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square. [Price One Shilling.] NYHS.

4. Baker, Henry, *The Microscope Made Easy; or, I. the Nature, Uses and Magnifying Powers of the Best Microscopes. . . . II. An Account of what Surprizing Discoveries have already been made by the Microscope. . . .* Printed by R. Dodsley, 3d ed. London, 1744. LC.

5. *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the Most eminent Persons Who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times: Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript, And digested in the Manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary.* 7 vols. London: Printed for W. Innys, . . . MDCCXLVII [1747–1766]. NYSL; NYHS.

6. [Blackstone, William,] *Commentaries on the Laws of England Book the First By William Blackstone Esq. Vinerian Professor of Law, and Solicitor General to Her Majesty.* 4 vols. Dublin: Printed for John Exshaw, Henry Saunders, Samuel Watson, and James Williams M,DCC,LXVI. NYSL.

7. [Blodget, Samuel,] *A Prospective-Plan of the Battle near Lake George, on the Eighth Day of September, 1755. With an Explanation*

thereof; Containing A full, tho' short, History of that important Affair. By Samuel Blodget, Occasionally at the Camp, when the Battle was fought. Boston, New-England: Printed by Richard Draper, for the Author. MDCCLV. NYPL.

8. [Cadogan, William,] *A Dissertation on the Gout, and all Chronic Diseases, jointly considered, as proceeding from the same cause; what those causes are; and a rational and natural method of cure proposed. Addressed to all invalids. By William Cadogan.* W. T. Brown. London, printed; Philadelphia reprint, 1771. LC.

9. Chambers, Ephraim, *Cyclopaedia, or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,* 2 vols. James & John Knapton. London, 1728. LC.

10. [Chandler, Thomas Bradbury,] *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America. By Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. Rector of St. John's Church, in Elizabeth-Town, New-Jersey, and Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Second Edition, corrected by the Author.* New-York Printed, London Reprinted for John and Francis Rivington at the Bible and Crown (N° 62) in St. Paul's Church Yard. MDCCLXIX. NYSL. [Sir William probably had the first edition, 1767.]

11. ——, *The Appeal Defended: or, The Proposed American Episcopate Vindicated, in Answer to the Objections and Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy and others. By Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. . . .* New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, 1769. NYHS, NYPL, NYSL.

12. ——, *The Appeal Farther Defended; in Answer to the Farther Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy. By Thomas B. Chandler, D.D. . . .* New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at his Book Store and Printing-Office, in Hanover-Square M,DCC,LXXI. NYHS, NYPL, NYSL.

13. Churchill, Charles, *Poems . . . Containing The Rosciad, The Apology, Night, The Prophecy of Famine. An Epistle to William Hogarth. And the Ghost, in four books. . . .* Printed for the Author: London, 1763. LC.

*14. [Clarendon,] *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641. With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the Kings blessed Restoration, and Return upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660. Written by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King Charles the First and the Second. . . .* Oxford, Printed at the Theater, An. Dom. MDCCIV. Three volumes

owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins. Sir William's bookplates Nos. 4, 5, 6.

15. [Cooper, Myles,] *An Address from the Clergy of New-York and New-Jersey, to the Episcopalians in Virginia; occasioned by some late Transactions in that Colony Relative to An American Episcopate. . . .* New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, 1771. NYPL, NYSL.

16. [Crantz, David,] *The History of Greenland; Containing a Description of the Country, and Its Inhabitants: and Particularly A Relation of the Mission, Carried on for above these Thirty Years by the Unitas Fratrum, at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels, in that Country. By David Crantz. Translated from the High Dutch, and illustrated with Maps and other Copper-plates. In two volumes.* London, Printed for the Brethrens Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen: And sold by J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall; T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt; and T. Cadell, Successor to A. Millar in the Strand; W. Sandby, in Fleet-street; S. Blandon in Pater-noster-row; E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry; and at all the Brethren's Chapels, MDCCLXVII. NYSL.

17. [Cudworth, Ralph,] *A Discourse Concerning The Evidences of our knowing Christ. By the pious and learned Ralph Cudworth, D.D. Author of the True Intellectual System of the Universe. With a Preface, explanatory Notes, and Translations of the several Greek and Latin Quotations. By Charles Inglis, A.M. . . .* New-York: Printed and Sold by H. Gaine, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square, MDCCLXX. NYHS.

18. Desaguliers, John Theophilus, *A Course of Experimental Philosophy. . . .* 2 Vols. 2d ed., W. Innys [etc.], London, 1744–45. LC.

19. *The Family Magazine; in two parts. Part I containing useful directions in all branches of housekeeping and cookery. . . . part II containing a compendious body of physick; . . .* Printed for J. Osborn. London, 1741.

20. Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe, *The Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses . . . By the Archbishop of Cambray. . . .* London, E. Curll and J. Pemberton, 1715, 1719, 2 vols. LC. [English translations of this French work date from 1699.]

21. *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle. Volume XX. For the Year M.DCC.L . . . By Sylvanus Urban, Gent.* London: Printed by Edw. Cave, at St. John's Gate. NYSL.

22. [Goldsmith, Oliver,] *An History of England, in a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to His Son.* London; 1764, 2 vols. CBEL.

23. Gravesande, Willem Jacob van's, *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy Confirmed by Experiments: or an Introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy. . . . Written in Latin by the late W. James's Gravesande. . . . Translated into English by the late J. T. Desaguliers . . . and published by his son J. T. Desaguliers. The sixth edition greatly improved by the author, and illustrated with 127 copper plates . . . In two volumes. . . .* Printed by W. Innys [etc.], London, 1747.

24. [Guthrie and Gray,] *A General History of the World from the Creation to the Present Time. By William Guthrie, John Gray, and others.* J. Newbery, etc. London, 1764–67. LC.

25. [Henry Frederick, duke of Cumberland, 1745–1790.] *The Trial of His R. H. the D. of C. July 5th, 1770. For criminal conversation with Lady Harriet G--r. To which is prefixed, an introductory discourse upon the antient and modern punishments of adultery, and the uncommon progress of that crime. Including all the letters which have passed between His R. H. and Her Ladyship, and were read in court. Illustrated with striking likenesses of the hero and heroine.* London, Printed for J. Walker, 1770. LC.

26. [Hutchinson, Thomas,] *The History of the Colony of Massachusets-Bay, from the First Settlement thereof in 1628. Until Its Incorporation with the Colony of Plimouth, Province of Main, &c. By The Charter of King William and Queen Mary, in 1691. . . . By Mr. Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor of the Massachusets Province.* Boston, New-England: Printed by Thomas & John Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, MDCCLXIV. NYSL.

27. [Johnstone, Charles,] *Chrysal; or the Adventures of a Guinea. Wherein are exhibited Views of several striking Scenes with Curious and Interesting Anecdotes of the most Noted Persons in every rank of Life, whose Hands it passed through in America, England, Holland, Germany, and Portugal. By an Adept.* London: Printed for T. Becket, at Tully's Head, near Surry Street, in the Strand. MDCCLX. 2 vols. Collection of Milton W. Hamilton.

28. ——, *The Reverie; or a Flight to the Paradise of Fools. By the editor of the Adventures of a Guinea.* Printed by D. Chamberlaine, Dublin, 1762. LC.

29. [Kennedy, Archibald,] *The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest Considered.* London: Printed for E. Cave, jun. at St. John's Gate. M,DCC,LII. NYSL.

30. ——, *Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies.* New-York: Printed for the Author, 1754. NYSL; NYHS.

31. [Knox, John,] *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760: Containing The Most Remarkable Occurrences of that Period; Particularly The Two Sieges of Quebec, &c. &c. the Orders of the Admirals and General Officers: Descriptions of the Countries where the Author has served, with their Forts and Garrisons; their Climates, Soil, Produce; and A Regular Diary of the Weather. As Also Several Manifesto's a Mandate of the late Bishop of Canada, The French Orders and Disposition for the Defence of the Colony, . . . By Captain John Knox. . . .* London: For the Author, and sold by W. Johnston, in Ludgate-Street; and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. MDCCLXIX. NYSL.

32. Langhorne, John, *The Letters that passed between Theodosius and Constantia, after she had taken the veil.* Second edition, London, 1764. LC.

33. [Le Page du Pratz,] *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: containing A Description of the Countries that lye on both Sides of the River Missisipi: with An Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants Soil, Climate, and Products. Translated from the French, (lately published,) By M. Le Page du Pratz; with Some Notes and Observations relating to our Colonies. In Two Volumes.* London, Printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt in the Strand, MDCCLXIII. NYSL.

34. *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer. Vol. XXV. For the Year 1757. Multum in Parvo.* Printed for B. Baldwin at the Rose in Pater Noster Row. NYSL.

35. Lowth, Robert, *A Sermon* [on Acts ii, 39] *preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniversary . . . Feb. 15, 1771.* London, 1771. BM.

36. [Lyttelton, George,] *The History of the Life of King Henry the Second, And of the Age in which he lived, in five books: To which is prefixed, A History of the Revolutions of England From the Death of Edward the Confessor to the Birth of Henry the Second: By George Lord Lyttelton.* London, Printed by W. Sandby and J. Dodsley. MDCCLXVII. 4 Vols. NYSL.

37. *Memoirs of the Chevalier Pierpoint . . .* 4 vols. Printed for R. and J. Dodsley. London, 1763. LC.

*38. *The Military History of the Late Prince Eugene of Savoy, And of the Late John Duke of Marlborough, Including A particular Description of the several Battles, Sieges, &c. in which either or both those Generals commanded. Collected from the best Authors in all Lan-*

guages. Volume I to which is added, a Supplement containing a succinct Account of the remarkable Events which happened in the late War, and wherein neither of the illustrious Generals above-mentioned had any share, particularly in Spain. From one thousand seven hundred and one, to one thousand seven hundred and six. The whole illustrated with Variety of Copper Plates of Battles, Sieges. Plans, &c., carefully engraven By Claude Du Bosc. London: Printed by James Bettenham, for Claude Du Bosc, engraver at the Golden Head in Charles-Street, Covent Garden. MDCCXXXVI. Two volumes. Owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins. Sir William's bookplates Nos. 7 & 8.

39. [Millenium Hall] *A Description of Millenium Hall, and the Country adjacent; together with the character of the inhabitants, and such historical anecdotes and reflections, as may excite in the reader proper sentiments of humanity . . . By a Gentleman on his travels* [or rather by Lady B. Montagu and Mrs. S. Scott]. London, 1762. BM.

40. *Monthly Review (or Literary Journal). A periodical work giving an account, with proper abstracts of and extracts from, the new books, pamphlets etc. as they came out.* London, 1749–. BM.

41. Newton, Thomas, *On the Imperfect Reception of the Gospel. A sermon* [on John x. 16] *preached before the . . . Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . . at their anniversary meeting. . . .* London, 1769. BM.

42. [Onslow, George,] *The Whole Proceedings in the Cause on the Action Brought By the Rt. Hon. Geo. Onslow, Esq., against the Rev. Mr. Horne, on Friday, April 6, at Kingston, for a Defamatory Libel, before the Right Honourable Sir William Blackstone, Knt., One of the Justices of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench. Taken in shorthand . . . by Joseph Gurney.* London, T. Davies and J. Gurney, 1770. LC.

43. *The Polite Lady: or A Course of Female Education. In a Series of Letters, from a Mother to her Daughter; . . . The Second Edition Corrected.* London: Printed for Newberry and Carnan, No. 65, the North Side of St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCLXIX. NYSL.

*44. [Pownall, Thomas,] *The Administration of the Colonies, (The Fourth Edition.) Wherein their Rights and Constitution Are discussed and stated, By Thomas Pownall, Late Governor and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Provinces, Massachusetts-Bay and South-Carolina, and Lieutenant-Governor of New-Jersey. . . .* London: Printed for J. Walter, at Homer's head, Charing-Cross. MDCCLXVIII. Owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins. Sir William's bookplate No. 60. [Illus. (p. 216) from the NYHS 2d ed., 1765.]

45. ——, *An Account of Conferences held, and Treaties made, Between Major-general Sir William Johnson, Bart. And the Chief Sachems and Warriours of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuskaroras, Aughquageys, Skaniadaradighronos, Chugnuts, Mahickanders, Shawanese, Kanuskagos, Toderighronos, and Oghquagoes, Indian Nations in North America. At their Meetings on different Occasions at Fort Johnson in the County of Albany, in the Colony of New York, in the Years 1755 and 1756. With A Letter from the Rev. Mr. Hawley to Sir William Johnson, written at the Desire of the Delaware Indians. And a Preface Giving a short Account of the Six Nations, some Anecdotes of the Life of Sir William, and Notes illustrating the Whole; Also an Appendix Containing an Account of Conferences between several Quakers in Philadelphia, and some of the Heads of the Six Nations, in April 1756.* London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand. M.DCC,LVI. [Price ls. 6d.] NYSL. A limited facsimile edition was published in 1930, from the library of Thea Heye, New York City.]

*46. [Prayer book] *Liturgia: Seu Liber Precum Communium, Et Administrationis. Sacramentorum Aliorumque in Ecclesia Anglicana Receptus: Itemque Forma & Modus Creandi, Ordinandi, & Consecrandi Episcopos, Presbyteros, & Diaconos. Epistulae, Evangelia, & Psalmi Inferuntur juxta Sebastiani Castellionis Versionem. Editio quinta prioribus longè emendatior*, Londini, Typis G. Bowyer, Impensis J. J. & P. Knapton, J. & J. Bonwicke, J. Osborn & I. Longman, B. Motte, S. Birt, T. Ward & E. Wicksted. MDCCXXXIII. Owned by Miss Helen DeLancey Watkins. Sir William's bookplate No. 298.

47. [Prayer book] *Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, Church Catechism, Family Prayers, and several chapters of the Old and New-Testament, translated into the Mahaque Indian Language, by Lawrence Claesse, Interpreter to William Andrews, Missionary to the Indians, From the Honourable and Reverend the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. . . .* Printed by William Bradford in New York, 1715. S.

*48. [Prayer book] *The Order, For Morning and Evening Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments, and some other Offices of the Church, Together with A Collection of Prayers, and some Sentences of the Holy Scriptures, necessary for Knowledge Practice. N E Yagawagh Niyadewighniserage Yonderaenayendaghkwa orghoongene neoni Yogaraskha yoghse-ragwegough. Neoni Yagawagh Sakramenthogoon, neoni oya Addereanaiyent ne Onoghsadogeaghtige. O N I Ne Watkeanissaghtough Odd'yage Addereanaiyent, neoni Siniyoghthare ne Kaghyadoghseradogeaghti, ne Wahooni Ayagoderieandaragge*

neoni Ayondadderighhoenie. Collected, and translated into the Mohawk Language under the Direction of the late Rev. Mr. William Andrews, the late Rev. Dr. Henry Barclay, and the Rev. Mr. John Oglivie [*sic*]. *Formerly Missionaries, from the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to the Mohawk Indians.*—Printed in the Year, M,DCC,LXIX. JCB.

Copies are found in NYSL; NYPL; NYHS; Dartmouth College Library; The Pierrepont Morgan Library, New York City; the William H. Scheide Library, Titusville, Pa.; the Newberry Library, Chicago; and the Williams College Library. Some of these are also association items. The Newberry Library copy was owned by Jabez M. Fisher, 1773. In that year Fisher visited Johnson Hall, as recorded in his diary.

49. [Quincy, John,] *The New Dispensatory: containing I. The theory and practice of pharmacy, II. The distribution of medicinal simples according to their virtues and sensible qualities . . . III. A full translation of the London and Edinburgh pharmacopoeias . . . IV. Directions for extemporaneous prescription . . . V. A collection of cheap remedies for the use of the poor . . . Intended as a correction and improvement of Quincy*. Printed for J. J. Nourse. London, 1753. LC.

50. *Relacaõ De huma batalha, succedida no campo de Lake Giorge na America Septemtrional, entre as Tropas Inglezas commandadas pelo Coronel Guilhelmo, e as Francezas das quaes era Commandante o General Baraõ Dieskau, aos 30. de Junho do prezente anno 1757. Traduzida no Idioma Portuguez. Extrahida de huma Carta escrita pelo mesmo Coronel, logo despois do successo, ao General Wensvort, Governador do nova Hampshire, e mandada inclusa em outra escrita em Postmaute capital da mesma Provincia*. Lisboa: Anno M.DCC,LVII. Com todas licenças necessarias. NYSL; NYPL; JCB; NYHS.

51. Robertson, William, *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V, with a view of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman Empire, to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century . . . By William Robertson*. . . . 3 Vols. W. Strahan . . . [etc.], London, 1769. CBEL.

52. ——, *The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI. till His Accession to the Crown of England. With a Review of Scotch History previous to that Period; and an appendix containing original Papers*. 2 Vols. . . . London, 1759. CBEL.

53. [Smith, William,] *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year MDCCLXIV under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq. Colonel of Foot, and now Brigadier General in America. Including his Transactions with the Indians, Relative to the*

Delivery of their Prisoners, and the Preliminaries of Peace. With an Introductory Account of the Preceding Campaign, and Battle at Bushy-Run. To which are annexed Military Papers, containing Reflections on the War with the Savages; a Method of forming Frontier Settlements; some Account of the Indian Country; with a List of Nations, Fighting Men, Towns, Distances, and different Routs. The whole illustrated with a Map and Copper-Plates. Published, from authentic Documents by a Lover of his Country. Philadelphia, Printed; London Reprinted for T. Jefferies, Geographer to his Majesty at Charing Cross. MDCCLXVI. NYSL.

54. ——, *Some Account of the Charitable Corporation, lately Erected for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen, in the Communion of the Church of England in America; with a Copy of their Charters, and Fundamental Rules. And also a Sermon, Preached in Christ-Church, Philadelphia, October 10, 1769, before the said Corporation, on Occasion of their First Meeting. By William Smith, D. D. Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Published, by Order, for the Benefit of the Charity. The Second Edition.* Philadelphia: Printed by D. Hall, and W. Sellers, opposite the Jersey Market. MDCCLXX. NYSL.

55. [Smollett, Tobias George,] *A Continuation of the Complete History of England.* London: 1760–61. 4 vols. BM.

56. ——, *The Adventures of Roderick Random.* Printed for J. Osborn, London, 1748.

*57. [State trials] *A Complete Collection of State-Trials, and Proceedings, for High-Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours; from the Reign of King Richard II. to the Reign of King George II. In six volumes. With two Alphabetical Tables to the Whole. The Third Edition, with Additions.* London: Printed for the Undertakers, John Walthoesen [*et al*] . . . MDCCXLII.

Sir William's bookplates, un-numbered, in all six volumes; his signature on all title pages. Fly leaf of volume III has an inscription in the hand of Guy Johnson: "E Libris Gulielmi Johnson, Baronetti, 1760." NYHS.

*58. *Thoughts on Civil Liberty, on Licentiousness, and Faction. By the Author of Essays on the Characteristics, &c. Sed in Vitium Libertas excidit, et Vim Dignam Lege regi.—The Second Edition.* London: Printed for L. Davis and C. Reymers, opposite Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn, Printers to the Royal Society. MDCCLXV. Sir William's bookplate No. 401. In Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

59. Whately, Thomas, *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed.* London, 1769; Boston 1769. S.

DID PARSON WEEMS REALLY INVENT THE CHERRY-TREE STORY?

by ARTHUR H. MERRITT*

JUST ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years ago there appeared in print for the first time, as far as we can discover, the classic legend of young George Washington, his little hatchet, and his father's favorite cherry tree.[1] The author of that first printed version of America's best-loved piece of folklore—Parson Weems, in the 5th (1806) edition of his *Life of Washington*—claimed as his authority "an aged lady who was a distant relative [of George] and, when a girl, spent much time in the

PARSON WEEMS (1759–1825)

* While forging a dental career so outstanding as to earn for him the highest honors within the power of his colleagues to bestow, Dr. Merritt, a Trustee of this Society, has also achieved distinction in other fields, especially as a collector and authority on Old Blue China. His writings on that and other subjects are numerous; some have appeared in this *Quarterly*. He holds, besides the doctorate in dental surgery, honorary degrees of M.S. (University of Michigan, 1938), Sc.D. (University of Maryland, 1940; Columbia University, 1940; New York University, 1945) and LL.D. (Baylor University, 1955).

[1] See note 2. Statements by several writers that the anecdote had been published earlier than 1806 are found to be based on error. The latest of these occurs in an article entitled "First in Myth, Too," by E. John Long, *The New York Times Magazine*, February 19, 1956, where it is asserted (p. 65); "The same story had appeared in print in London in 1799, and Weems may have borrowed from that." But a query to the author concerning his source has elicited from the editor of *The Times* Sunday Department an explanation that he had "edited the statement into the story" upon the authority of a passage in Curtis D. McDougall's *Hoaxes* (Macmillan, 1940), pp. 106–107: "Origin of the cherry-tree myth has been traced to a story by Dr. James Beattie, *The Minstrel*, published in London in 1799, which Weems plagarized." McDougall's authority apparently was Rupert Hughes' *George Washington* (Morrow, 1926), 1:24, where Hughes, however, clearly says: "Though the cherry tree

family."[2] Serious historians, with few exceptions, have scorned this claim as a fabrication and the legend as a product of the biographer's imagination.[3] Almost yearly, at least one popular writer succumbs to an urge to "debunk the myth" all over again.[4] Nevertheless, the story's popularity has persisted unabated,[5] and now and then some unorthodox scholar has reopened our minds to the question whether Weems may not, in fact, have heard the anecdote, as he claimed, from the unnamed "excellent lady" who had known George Washington in his youth?[6] Why can't this simple question be settled once and for all?

Mason Locke Weems (1759–1825), a native of Maryland, was by profession first a physician, then a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, but by nature an adventurer who "loved notoriety, money and a wandering life." Failing as a clergyman, he became a traveling book agent and, in the course of time, the author of several books, including lives of Washington, Penn,

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anecdote has never been traced, the flower-story is a plain theft on the part of Parson Weems from Dr. James Beattie," with a citation in note 20 to *The Minstrel*, London, 1799. By "the flower-story" Hughes of course meant Weems's anecdote of the elder Washington's planting of a cabbage bed in such a form that the sprouts would spell GEORGE WASHINGTON wherefrom young George could deduce the existence of a providential God. McDougall misapplied Hughes's provenance of "the flower-story" to the cherry-tree legend and *The Times* editor transplanted the error into Mr. Long's article. Falsehood, once sanctified by print, seldom dies.

[2] *The Life of Washington the Great. Enriched with a Number of Very Curious Anecdotes, Perfectly in Character, and Equally Honorable to Himself, and Exemplary to His Young Countrymen. The Fifth Edition Greatly Improved.* By M. L. Weems. (Augusta [Georgia]: Re-printed by Geo: F. Randolph, 1806), pp. 7, 9. Paul Leicester Ford, who owned the only known copy (now at NYPL) of this edition, wrote on its flyleaf: ". . . This rare southern edition is the first 'Weems' of popular fame. . . . [Earlier editions] were merely biography, but [in this] the author rewrote the work, inventing the hatchet story (p. 9) and all the other things that make Weems famous. . . ."

[3] See note 13.

[4] The latest such attempts to come to my attention were those by E. John Long, *op. cit.*, where the story is dubbed "the thoroughly discredited cherry tree myth," and by Bennett Cerf in the *New York Herald Tribune's* Sunday magazine, *This Week*, February 19, 1956, where "Ye Cerfboard" states: "The most transparent fiction ever concocted about a president concerned the cherry tree allegedly chopped down by George Washington. Parson Weems dreamed up that whopper in 1806—seven years after Washington's death."

[5] See note 12.

[6] See note 14.

Franklin, and Francis Marion, and a number of moral tracts.[7] The work for which he will always be remembered, however, is his *Life of Washington*, which had run through more than eighty editions by the time the near-definitive Weems bibliography appeared in 1929.[8] Indeed, this single biography was "largely responsible for the creation of the traditional Washington," having become "one of the most popular and widely read books ever published in America." And in no small degree this work owed its immense popularity to one brief anecdote which caught the imagination of the public.[9] Here is the famous story as Parson Weems told it:[10]

. . . . Never did the wise Ulysses take more pains with his beloved Telemachus, than did Mr. Washington with George, to inspire him with an *early love of truth*. . . .

". . . as to yourself, George, you know I have *always* told you, and now tell you again, that, whenever by accident you do any thing wrong, which must often be the case, as you are but a poor little boy yet, without *experience* or *knowledge*, never tell a falsehood to conceal it; but come *bravely* up, my son, like *a little man*, and tell me of it: and instead of beating you, George, I will but the more honour and love you for it, my dear."

This, you'll say, was sowing good seed!—Yes, it was: and the crop,

[7] Henry Cabot Lodge, *George Washington* (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1889), I:10, 11, 41, 47; Harold Kellock, *Parson Weems of the Cherry Tree* . . . (New York & London: The Century Co., 1928), pp. 3–212 *passim.*; Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel (ed.), *Mason Locke Weems: His Works and Ways in Three Volumes* (New York: 1929), I: *passim.*, II:xix–xxiv, III:365–439. This last, a work of high scholarship, will hereafter be cited as Skeel's *Weems*.

[8] Skeel's *Weems*, I: "A Bibliography Left Unfinished by Paul Leicester Ford" [finished and edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel], pp. 2–96.

[9] *New International Encyclopedia* (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904), p. 614; Weems, *A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington* . . . , Mount Vernon Edition (Philadelphia & London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1918), Introduction, pp. 5–6; Kellock, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 90–91; Long, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Skeel's *Weems*, I:26–27. Lawrence Wroth, *op. cit.* in note 14, says (p. 6): "Perhaps the most obvious, although not the most important claim that he [Weems] has to our attention is the fact that upon his authority rests the best known of American hero tales—the story of George Washington and the Cherry Tree."

[10] Since the only extant copy known of the "Fifth Edition" (1806) in which Weems first published the story is carefully preserved from common use at the New York Public Library, we reproduce the text from The New-York Historical Society's copy of the 8th edition (Philadelphia: 1809), pp. 12–14, as transcribed by Miss Geraldine Beard, Chief of the Reading Room, to whom we tender thanks.

thank God, was, as I believe it ever will be, where a man acts the true parent, that is, the *Guardian Angel*, by his child.

The following anecdote is a *case in point*. It is too valuable to be lost, and too true to be doubted, for it was communicated to me by the same excellent lady to whom I am indebted for the last.[11]

"When George," said she, "was about six years old, he was made the wealthy master of a *hatchet!* of which, like most little boys, he was immoderately fond, and was constantly going about chopping everything that came in his way. One day, in the garden, where he often amused himself hacking his mother's pea-sticks, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young English cherry-tree, which he barked so terribly, that I don't believe the tree ever got the better of it. The next morning the old gentleman finding out what had befallen his tree, which, by the by, was a great favorite, came into the house, and with much warmth asked for the mischievous author, declaring at the same time, that he would not have taken five guineas for his tree. Nobody could tell him any thing about it. Presently George and his hatchet made their appearance. *George*, said his father, *do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry-tree yonder in the garden?* This was a *tough question;* and George staggered under it for a moment; but quickly recovered himself: and looking at his father, with the sweet face of youth brightened with the inexpressible charm of all-conquering truth, he bravely cried, *I can't tell a lie, Pa; you know I can't tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet.—Run to my arms, you dearest boy*, cried his father in transports, *run to my arms; glad am I, George, that you killed my tree; for you have paid me for it a thousand fold. Such an act of heroism in my son, is of more worth than a thousand trees, though blossomed with silver, and their fruits of purest gold.*"

It was in this way, by interesting at once both his *heart* and *head*, that Mr. Washington conducted George with great ease and pleasure along the happy paths of virtue. . . .

In itself this quaint moral tale would seem to bear no seeds of controversy, but its undoubted influence in shaping the popular image of George Washington has brought it a greater degree of critical scrutiny than its author ever dreamed of. Three main attitudes towards it are discernable.

The general public, to whom Weems addressed his *Life of Washington*, has taken the cherry-tree story to its heart and kept it there throughout the century and a half since its first publica-

[11] See note 2 and the text to which it pertains.

tion. Despite slurs on its origin, despite secret schoolboy rebellions against its moral message, it has maintained its top position among American folk-tales and shows no sign of decay.[12]

The second attitude towards the cherry-tree story, both in point of time and in the number of its adherents, is one of criticism, sometimes of actual hostility. It first became prevalent among historians of the last century, among whom Henry Cabot Lodge may be cited as an example. In his *George Washington*, published in 1889, the future Senator from Massachusetts demanded that the "wretched fable" be "swept away into the dust-heaps of history." Weems he characterized as "simply a man destitute of historical sense, training, or morals, ready to take the slenderest fact and work it up for the purposes of the market" and the lady from whom Weems claimed to have picked up the anecdote Lodge labeled an invented Boswell. This viewpoint has been restated time and again right up to the present year.[13]

A third attitude is represented by a more tolerant group of historians who incline to give Parson Weems the benefit of the doubt and, while acknowledging the absence of confirming evidence, emphasize the probability of his story. In his study of

[12] Professor Lynn W. Turner in his article on "The Electoral Vote against Monroe in 1820—An American Legend," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September 1955, regrets (p. 250) that "the fabrications of Parson Weems" have "achieved a popularity which is practically unshakable." So, too, Michael Kraus, in his *A History of American History* (1937): "It might not be too much to say that generations of historical scholars since his [Weems's] time have been unable to modify seriously the popular picture Weems created. . . ." Also Harold Kellock, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91: "In these and other fables of a similar character . . . Weems created a Washington that all the study of the scholars have been unable to erase. It is the Weemsian Washington that persists in the school readers and in the popular imagination. . . ." See also Alexander McQueen, "Washington's Cherry Tree," in *The American Book Collector*, February 1956, pp. 7–8. Many other writings illustrate the point, some of which are cited in note 9 above.

[13] Lodge, *op. cit.*, I:39–46. Of the numerous other examples which could be cited, we must rest content with two: Professor Allan Nevins, in his article on George Washington in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1942 edition), XXXIII:318, speaks of "Weems's absurd fictions regarding the hatchet and cherry tree . . ." (and is soundly spanked for doing so by Dr. J. Christian Bay in the Introduction to his 1955 edition of *The Journal of Major George Washington, of his Journey to the French Forces in Ohio. Facsimile of the Williamsburg Edition, 1754*). Professor Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 251, testifies that "sophisticated circles . . . have long since dropped the cherry tree legend."

Parson Weems Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth,[14] Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, expresses this reasonable judgment:

> It is asserted, generally carelessly and without any thought upon the subject, that Weems was father and mother to this famous anecdote as well as its sponsor, and no one may deny the assertion. It is only fair, however, to say that no really good reason has ever been given for holding this view, and no evidence has ever been brought forward in support of it. On the contrary, there is something to be said for the authenticity of the anecdote. The story is probable in every detail, and it is well known that Weems was assiduous in the collection of Washington anecdotes of every sort. Moreover, through his wife's kinship with the Washington family, he had every opportunity for learning these anecdotes, if any existed, from authoritative sources. He knew Washington personally, corresponded with him and . . . staid at least once with him at Mt. Vernon, and he was intimate with the Rev. Lee Massy who was Washington's rector and associate for many years. These things, of course, may mean nothing. They are given only to show that it was entirely possible for Weems to have heard the Cherry Tree anecdote from one close to its hero. It is quite within the pale of probability that when Weems gave as his authority for the story the same "excellent lady" who had told him others of her memories of the youthful hero, he was speaking sober truth.

Probability, however, is not proof. If Weems is to be exonerated from the charge that he fabricated the cherry-tree story, we must find some positive evidence that the story was current before he inserted it in the 1806 edition of his *Life of Washington*.

What might be that evidence came to light in 1894. In that year Dr. Stewart Paton, an American, purchased in the North German seaside resort of Stralsund an old mug on which was pictured what appeared to be the familiar story of George Washington and the cherry tree.[15] Beside the crude picture appeared the initials "G. W." and the date "1776," while near the bottom

[14] Lawrence C. Wroth, *Parson Weems: A Biographical Study* (Baltimore: The Eichelberger Book Co., 1911), pp. 65–67. See also, O. W. Mosher, Jr., "Parson Weems and That Cherry-Tree Story," *The New York Times Magazine*, February 18, 1923, p. 6; Skeel's *Weems*, I:27; Bay, *op. cit.*, intro.

[15] Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made both to Dr. R. Townley Paton for introduction to the present owner of the mug: Mrs. Paulus P. Powell of New York City, and to Mrs. Powell herself for having provided the above information concerning her uncle who purchased the mug in Germany and for permitting it to be photographed at the Society for reproduction herein.

of the mug were the additional initials "A.S.K." and again the date "1776." The possibility that this mug might prove the Weems story "to have been current talk many years before it appeared in print" was soon recognized. Five years after its discovery in Germany, R. T. Haines Halsey, a noted authority on historical china, stated the case for the affirmative as follows:[10]

> First. The ware is of the crudest description and of that commonly made in Germany during the period from 1770 to 1790. Its genuineness is unquestioned. The decorations are beneath the glaze which proves that they have not been added in recent years.
>
> Second. The youth is dressed in clothes similar in color to those of the Continental uniform. He wears a tri-cornered blue hat, blue coat and buff trousers. The coat and trousers are of the cut worn by children. Homespun stockings appear in the place of leggings, and the hatchet is largely in evidence.
>
> Third. The house is shown and a cut-down tree; above the latter are the crude letters G. W. and below these the rough numerals "1776." The juxtaposition of the letters, numerals and tree certainly prove that they were purposely intermingled.
>
> The facts stated above leave little doubt that upon this bit of coarse earthenware is found a quaint and crude representation of this popular story. Yet interesting as this is, as a specimen of historical pottery, this mug has a far greater value, for upon the lower edge, as was the custom upon this special class of wares, were placed the initials of the artist, (or owner), also the date 1776, which unmistakably stamps this piece as made in this year. Only one more criticism can be made upon the usefulness of this piece in dating back the origin of "The Cherry Tree story"—namely, it may be said that this sketch merely represents a European scene; therefore, the mingling of boy, hatchet, tree, initials and date must be a remarkable coincidence.
>
> In answer to this, there can be pointed out on the vine which compose part of the decoration, two parrots, surely not European birds, but at the time attributed by naturalists to America, both North and South. This last point certainly disarms all criticism upon the ground of coincidence. . . . May not this crude sketch, with its accompanying dates, prove this great moral lesson to have been common talk at the time when King George III took advantage of the venality of certain German princes and hired from them troops, the flower of Europe, to fight in

[10] R. T. Haines Halsey, *Pictures of Early New York on Dark Blue Staffordshire Pottery, Together with Pictures of Boston and New England, Philadelphia, the South and West* (New York: Dodd, Meade & Co., 1899), pp. 303–306.

THE "G W 1776" CHERRY-TREE MUG

Signed *ASK 1776;* purchased 1894 at Stralsund, Germany

Owned by Mrs. Paulus P. Powell, New York City

behalf of a cause in which he was unable to enlist the services of enough of his own subjects, so unpopular was the war in England. . . .

Certainly it does not seem improbable that in view of the interest the German people took in our struggle for liberty, this story was wafted across the sea and reached the ear of some potter, who then clumsily pictured it upon a mug of stoneware, adding to it the date, 1776 as the year, which then, as well as now, is most closely associated with Washington.

Concerning the tale of the famous Cherry Tree [*he was quoted as saying*], on this crude bit of pottery, which has been expertized as to date and genuineness of decoration by every test known to science, hangs by a slender thread the fate of the Cherry Tree story dear to all Americans and which until the finding of this bit of pottery in Germany 36 [*actually* 38] years ago, was being definitely dismissed by historians as having originated in the fertile mind of Parson Weems. It may have been that this appealing story was current talk in Maryland and Virginia and was wafted over to Germany by the many German settlers in Western Maryland, where the famous young Virginia Colonel was a well-known figure.[17]

Despite Mr. Halsey's impressive marshaling of arguments, certain questions remain to be resolved beyond doubt before the mug found by Dr. Paton can be accepted as proof positive that Parson Weems did not manufacture the cherry-tree story: Does the mug certainly represent the George Washington incident? Was it made before 1806 when Weems published the story? Was it made in Germany and, if so, how did the story become known there?

Any American seeing the mug would recognize at once the scene pictured on it. All the elements of the familiar story are present: the boy in appropriate costume, the hatchet (although it might be taken for an ax), the decapitated tree. When to these are added the letters "G W" and the date 1776, the identification with Washington is almost irresistible. It is, however, capable of another interpretation. To a recent letter of inquiry concerning the mug's date and maker, accompanied by a photograph, Dr. Erich Meyer, Director of the Hamburg (Germany) Museum of Arts and Crafts, replied that in his judgment the mug probably

[17] *The Baltimore Sun*, February 11, 1932. The author is grateful to Mrs. Paulus P. Powell for her kindness in sending him copies of this paper.

represented, not George Washington, but a north German woodcutter (A.S.K.) who presented it to a friend (G.W.), such gifts between fellow craftsmen being quite common.[18] If Dr. Meyer's interpretation is correct, the mug's usefulness in dating the rise of the cherry-tree story vanishes, but it requires a remarkably tolerant digestive apparatus to permit the swallowing at one gulp of so many coincidences as Dr. Meyer's assumption entails: date, initials, costume, hatchet, tree—all fitting the cherry-tree legend—combined through pure accident!

So the question arises: is the mug a genuine eighteenth-century German product? Halsey answered affirmatively, saying the mug had been "expertized as to date and genuineness of decoration by every test known to science"—that a German potter with the mark "A.S.K." made it in 1776. Dr. Meyer, on the other hand, considers it "highly improbable that the inscription A.S.K. 1776 stands for the firm that made the jug," for, says he, "potter's marks are always found on the bottom of the piece, practically never on the side." Yet the lid of the mug bears the initials "M.S.L"—presumably those of the original owner—thus eliminating either "G.W." or "A.S.K." as owner. Dr. Meyer agrees, however, that the mug's appearance, so far as he can tell from the photograph, is consistent with its being a North German product of the period. Stralsund, where the mug was found, was once a pottery manufacturing center, but no potter with the mark A.S.K. is recorded as having worked there.[19]

[18] Letter dated December 27, 1955, Hamburg [Germany], from Prof. Dr. Erich Meyer, Director of the Hamburg Museum of Arts and Crafts, to Mr. Charles E. Baker, whose helpful cooperation is hereby acknowledged, as is that of Mr. David H. Wallace, Assistant Editor. Unfortunately the inquiry to which Dr. Meyer replied failed to mention a pertinent inscription on the lid of the mug and no photograph of the lid was enclosed. So his judgment was made without benefit of that important evidence.

[19] See notes 15 and 18. There was, however, an 18th-century pottery factory at the nearby town of Schwernin (about 32 miles southwest of Stralsund and 25 miles east of Hamburg) where the potter Adam Appelstedt, who flourished from the 1750s into the 1770s and by some accounts even later, and who marked his pieces, according to available sources, sometimes "A Svernin" and sometimes $\frac{A}{K}S$ (the A [Appelstedt] standing for the manufacturer, the S [Schwernin or Svernin] for the town of origin, and the K [full name unknown] presumably for the designer or actual craftsman. Although Appelstedt is reputed to have produced a superior

Assuming that the mug does depict an eighteenth-century German version of the cherry-tree tale, the question remains: how did the story find its way to Germany in the first place? Halsey, as we have seen, suggested that the anecdote had currency among the German settlements of western Maryland from which, through their continued contact with the Fatherland, it reached the ears of some liberty-loving German potter. Although this is plausible, it is not susceptible of proof. Yet surely, following Washington's elevation to leadership of the American cause, *some* kind of biographical account or character sketch must have been published for his admirers in the homeland of Von Steuben (who helped him whip the ragged Continentals into a disciplined army) and of Frederick the Great (who castigated the "scandalous man traffic" in Hessian mercenaries and inscribed a presentation sword for Washington as "from the oldest general in the world to the greatest"). In accordance with this theory, a search was instituted at such likely depositories as The New-York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, R.I., the American Antiquarian Society, the Free Library of Philadelphia, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation of Philadelphia, the Library of Congress, as well as at several libraries in Germany, without confirmatory results. Five German-language editions of Weems's *Washington* were published in America, copies of which may have reached the Fatherland, but of some earlier biography published in Germany itself, and particularly of a German version of the cherry-tree story antedating Weem's, we have as yet found no trace.[20]

The disappointing conclusion forced upon us is that regarding

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quality of faïence, quite unlike the "cherry-tree" mug, and the K in his known marks is placed under rather than after the other initials as in ours, nevertheless the thought occurs that there may somehow be a connection. See: Maria Peukala, *European Pottery* (Hengelo, Holland: H. L. Smit & Zoon, 1951), pp. 321, 355; William Chaffers, *Marks & Monograms on European and Oriental Pottery and Porcelain* (Los Angeles, Cal.: Borden Publishing Co., 1946), p. 298; Frederick Litchfield, *Pottery and Porcelain: A Guide to Collectors* (5th ed.; New York: Barrows & Co., 1951), p. 232.

[20] Acknowledgement is made to Miss Geraldine Beard, Chief of the Reading Room at NYHS for communicating with the several libraries. The Society owns several of the editions of Weems's *Washington* in German. The American An-

no point has the authenticity of the "cherry-tree" mug been proved or disproved—that decisive evidence either for or against a pre-Weems provenance for the cherry-tree anecdote has not yet been produced. Until such evidence is forthcoming it will remain "with each reader," as Dr. Wroth once wrote, "almost a matter of pre-natal disposition" whether or not he will give credence to Weems's *excellent lady*. "If he was born to like Weems as a writer," he will interpret the evidence in Weems's favor, "but if his predisposition is to the contrary, no amount of exposition will persuade him that 'the historian of the Cherry Tree' is anything but an inaccurate biographer."[21] The case against him, so far as the cherry-tree story is concerned, still rests on purely negative evidence and a prejudicial reputation, while the case in his favor is built on the uncertain foundation of possibilities and probabilities, though strengthened by the prima-facie evidence of the mug. And yet, despite our failure to determine beyond dispute the mug's pictorial theme and date of manufacture, the burden of proof ought to rest, I should think, with those who would deny that the mug is what it appears to be—an eighteenth-century depiction of the famous yarn.

"One hundred years ago," wrote Paul Leicester Ford shortly before his death in 1902, "Washington and his 'little hatchet' were joined together by an Episcopal clergyman, and though many a learned historian has since sat in judgment upon the union, the jury of public opinion has steadily refused to bring in a decree of divorce."[22] To which might be added that what the clergy with public sanction has joined together, let no crabbed historian put asunder—at least until more decisive evidence comes to light.

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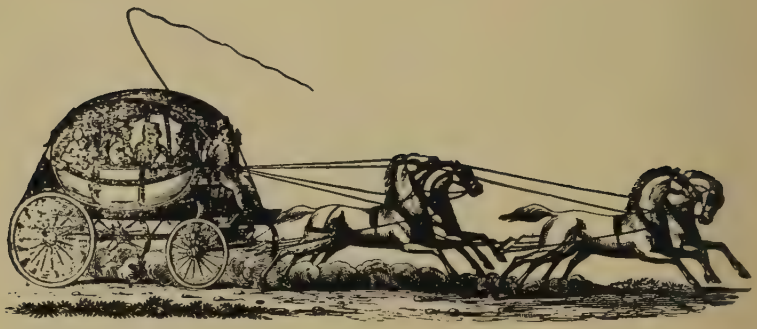
tiquarian Society also searched for material relating to this subject and the communications from Mrs. Dorothea E. Spear, Assistant Librarian, and Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, Director, proved helpful. Acknowledgement is made, too, to Mr. Alexander P. Clark, Curator of Manuscripts at Princeton University Library, for clarifying an obscure reference to the so-called "Round Papers" concerning the mug. Thanks are due also to Mr. Milton Halsey Thomas, Curator of Columbiana, Columbia University, Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth of John Carter Brown Library, and the many others who concerned themselves with our research.

[21] Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[22] Skeel's *Weems*, I:27.



"FROM THE WINDOWS OF THE MAIL COACH"

A SCOTSMAN LOOKS AT NEW YORK STATE IN 1811

Edited by DAVID H. WALLACE

ON A BRIGHT SEPTEMBER SUNDAY in 1810 a restless Scotsman named J. B. Dunlop sailed down the Firth of Clyde past his native Ayrshire shore, bound for America. As the familiar scenes slipped out of sight, melancholy thoughts crowded into his mind and overflowed onto the pages of his journal:

"Farewell, sweet Fairfield, dear mansion of happyness; ye hedge bound parks thro which my hasty steps have often traversed and stained with the scarlet drops of the sleaky partridge; ye variegated woods where I have strolled away to many pleasing hours to the melodious notes of the mavis and your other warbling tenants; ye dearest of friends, whom Memory shall rank in the uppermost shelf of her repository and affection place in the core of my heart. Farewell! Soon must the favorableness of the wind, tho light, pleasing to all on board but myself, hide the brown topped woods which encircle your abode behind the curvature of Nature's arc."

The author of these doleful reflections was not a criminal condemned to lifelong exile in Australia, nor a bankrupt emigrating to America in the hope of retrieving his fortunes in a new country, nor even a consumptive poet setting out on what he feared was a hopeless quest for a more healthful clime. He was a tourist, a man evidently of some means and education, one of those whose "restless and discontented minds," as he wrote, "seize every project which promises to display Nature to us in a novel form." This voyage, his second to the "Western World," was prompted solely by curiosity. If he had thoughts of emigrating, his experiences in the new world dispelled them for he returned to Scotland firm in the conviction "that if within thy shores, Dear Albion, man cannot be happy, he must be miserable in every other part of the world."

The diary which Dunlop kept during his travels in the United States, Canada and Cuba, or rather the book he wrote about them for his own amusement and never published, came into the possession of The New-York Historical Society in 1953. Although he disclaimed any intention of allowing the work to be published, the author wrote a little introduction warning the "Gentle Reader" who might some day come upon it that his narrative was neither useful nor elegant but "a heterogeneous mass of information hastily collected from the windows of the mail coach during a post haste excursion thro the United States of America and Canada." "It is of no consequence in my opinion," he added, "how many volumes a man writes, provided he does not publish them, for it injures none but himself and even that is doubtful, for some say it is better to write nonsense than to be idle."

Despite its sketchiness, for Dunlop was no De Tocqueville, his unpretentious narrative presents a series of lively impressions of life along the Atlantic seaboard and in upstate New York in the years 1810–1811. Not the least of its charms, moreover, is the author's unconscious revelation of himself. He was first of all a Scot, constantly on the alert to note points of similarity or difference between America and his native land. He was also a loyal

subject of George the Third, who looked on Saratoga as the scene of a British defeat rather than of an American victory. His remarks on the Battle of Bunker Hill, however, exhibit a more than generous attitude towards the American rebels: "The admirable defence of this little eminence is a proof that men when engaged in a just cause, although raw & undisciplined, are equal to the best troops, even under experienced generals, when oppression actuates them." Politically, Dunlop's sympathies were entirely with the Federalists; he tolled the bell for Hamilton, he drew a sharp contrast between the demeanor of the two parties on the 4th of July at Albany, and he complained that the Scots of Caledonia, New York, were Republican to a man! Hunting and fishing delighted him and he had a keen eye for a neatly cultivated piece of land. On the whole Dunlop was an ideal traveler, who viewed the American scene with a fair degree of detachment, praised almost as often as he criticized, and rarely lost his emotional balance, except when faced with such perplexing novelties as the decaying Indian and the "strict continency" of the Shakers, which excited his rhetoric into a froth of romantic and moralistic and satiric fervency.

The portions of Dunlop's narrative which are here published for the first time cover his travels in New York State from June 24 to July 12 and August 8 to August 27, 1811. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been standardized according to modern usage and some long passages have been broken into separate paragraphs for the sake of easier reading.

[*After a stormy passage of twenty days from the Clyde, Dunlop landed at Charleston, South Carolina, on October 12, 1810. There he remained until the following June, except for a three week excursion to Georgia in February. On June 16, 1811, in company with the Reverend Doctor Buchan, presumably a fellow Scotsman, he left Charleston by boat for Philadelphia, actuated partly, he writes, by "the desire of absenting ourselves from the inclemency of the city" where yellow fever was an annual visitant, but "principally with the view of seeing as much as possible of the western world." Reaching the Quaker City on the 19th, the travelers spent four days viewing the sights, including Peale's Museum and the Academy of the Fine Arts, where Dunlop saw Adolph*

Ulrich Wertmüller's "beautiful painting of Danae in the act of being seduced by Jupiter in the form of shower of gold" and noted that it was sold for 1500 dollars. Dunlop and Buchan started for New York City on the 24th of June, 1811, and it is at this point that we pick up Dunlop's narrative.]

The novelty of a steam boat induced us to prefer that mode of conveyance to New York, for which we departed on the 24th. In a country so much intersected with rivers as America is, these boats are of great utility, affording an easy, expeditious & cheap way of travelling. They are to be found on almost every river of consequence and altho between this and New York there is a land passage of 30 miles between the Delaware and Raritan, yet the communication offers every day much cheaper & easier than the uncomfortable vehicles used as mails.

These boats are from 80 to 120 feet long, very handsomely modelled and those on the North River accommodate upwards of one hundred and fifty people, each of whom with a bed. The apartment of the ladies is farthest aft, then the gentlemen's cabin, and at the bow the steerage, between which and the gentlemen's cabin there is a space allotted for the steam engine, which is contracted into as small a compass as possible. This engine turns a water wheel on each side of the boat which in breadth is something similar to those used in England in water mills; the velocity of the boat depends much on the power of the engine; and it requires a great purchase to propel it against the tides which run with a strong current in the American rivers. The common medium used I understood was equal to the strength of 11 horses. The proprietors provide the passengers with dinner &c. for which the charge is moderate and one may procure liquors of every description, which are kept for the convenience of the travellers.

The banks of the Delaware above Philadelphia are handsomely adorned with country seats, to which the inhabitants retire in summer. The cities of Burlington on the Jersey side and Bristol on the opposite one are populous and thriving places. We disembark from this boat at Bordentown, a small village on the Jersey side, at the head of the navigation of the Delaware. Here we found half a dozen of stage coaches awaiting us, which conveyed all the passengers & luggage to Brunswick, a populous and extensive city on the banks of the Raritan River and about 36 miles from Bordentown. On the road we pass Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, in the neighborhood of which Washington gained a victory over the British troops. The bridge over the Delaware at Trenton is said to be the handsomest in America; near to it the expatriated French General Moreau resides.[1]

[1] Jean Victor Moreau (1763–1813), who was exiled for conspiring against Napoleon. After living near Trenton from 1805 to 1813, he entered the Russian service and was mortally wounded at the Battle of Dresden in August 1813.

A few miles beyond Trenton is Princeton, where there is an university of some extent which educates several hundred young men. The college is a tolerable good building, but the country in the vicinity of it is very beautiful.

The soil betwixt these two rivers is sandy. The crops consist of rye, wheat & great corn, the former of which seemed to thrive best, and the forests were entirely of hard wood which after dark appeared all in blaze from the quantity of fire bugs which infested them. The roads were extremely bad & we did not arrive at Brunswick until midnight.

Early next morning we embarked in another steam boat and proceeded along the marshy banks of the Raritan to its influx into the ocean. Then coasting between Staten Island & the main land we soon passed the famous watering places of Brighton & Perth Amboy, the resort of the beau monde from New York in summer. Thence hugging the coast of Staten Island we had a fine view of the villas &c on the right, the objects at a distance in the Passaic Bay on the left, and before us the harbour of New York, at the outer part of which the American Frigates President & United States were moored, with several other smaller armed vessels—and at 5 in the afternoon of the 26 we were landed on the wharves of New York.

The situation of this city in point of commercial importance is surpassed by none in the United States. It is built on an island formed by the Hudson & East Rivers, the latter of which may be more properly called an arm of the sea. The island is separated from the main land by a narrow creek which runs between these two rivers about 8 miles from the city, over which there are several bridges leading into the interior. Wharves are constructed on both rivers capable of the most extensive commerce. The produce of the interior of this State as well as all the neighbouring ones finds its way to New York by means of the Hudson River, which connects itself by the Mohawk with the Lakes and these with the Mississippi, Ohio & the other great rivers beyond the mountains. The fertile wheat crops of the Genesee country descend a river of the same name into Lake Ontario, from whence, deviating again into the Oneida Lake thro the Oswego River, they are carried by land over a portage of 15 miles into the Mohawk at Rome from whence there is a regular chain by water to this city. The neighbourhood of the Connecticut River also throws into this market the abundant productions of the New England States, and the immense forests on the banks of Lake Champlain are sawed at the mills on the North River and supplies boards &c for the West India demands. The harbour admits ships of the largest size and the city is extensively provided with warehouses.

The streets are very irregular, and are planted, like most of the American cities, with the Lombardy Poplar tree, which thrive well and soon tower above the roofs. The buildings are of stone and brick and although

BROADWAY LOOKING NORTH PAST TRINITY CHURCH

Watercolor and pen drawing by William Strickland, *c.* 1812

The New-York Historical Society

not so uniformly elegant as those of Philadelphia, afford a more pleasing diversity. Broadway, the principal street, is without exception the most beautiful one in America and the new State house[2] which is built of cut marble, found near the boundary between this State & Vermont, is the most elegant and expensive structure in the Union or probably extant. It is said to have cost 800,000 dollars. Broadway & the old Battery are the most fashionable walks. From the latter there is a fine view of the Hook & the vessels in the Roads.

The State Prison is well worth seeing. It is at Greenwich about 3 miles up the Hudson River. The mildness of the American laws condemn those only to death who are guilty of murder. The punishment for robbery, forgery &c is confinement in this prison either for life or a limited time, according to the aggravation of the offense committed. The humanity of this institution is worthy of being imitated could it be strictly observed, but very frequently the culprits make their escape and often they are released by the intercession of a man in power, and the nation are again subject to their impositions.

In the State Prison at Greenwich there are upwards of 500 prisoners,

[2] Dunlop here refers to New York's new City Hall, construction of which had begun in 1803. The City Council held its first meeting in the new building in August 1811.

STATE PRISON AT GREENWICH AS DUNLOP SAW IT

Contemporary engraving at NYHS

four fifths of whom are men. These are constantly employed in different avocations for within their walls there is every kind of trade carried on & the ware house supplies the inhabitants with almost every manufacture, the profits of which nearly pay the expense of the institution. It is necessary to obtain tickets from one of the directors before any person can be admitted. These are given gratis & a person who is fond of studying characters by the outlines of the countenance may there indulge his propensity to a great extent.

The annals of the prison are very exact in which the nation of every culprit is marked down. From it I took the following minute, highly honorable to the national character of the Scotch. It may be necessary to state that the immigration from that country is probably as great as from any other except Ireland.

Committed for one year, ending 31 Dec. 1810

English	21
Irish	23
Scotch	1
	45: Forty five

The Theatre is a plain building but very neat in the inside. At this season Cooke & Cooper, the American Roscius, were contending for preeminence in the public opinion.[3] In the one was remarked all the studied energies of ambition to eclipse his European competitor, while the other, careless whether he carried the palm or not, pursued the bent of his inclination & even staggering under the influence of wine obtained more applause for the natural correctness of his genius, in spite of prejudice, than his antagonist gained from the gracefulness of attitude and his laboured efforts at imitation. Although Philadelphia is esteemed to be the metropolis of America, strangers in general give the preference to New York. This may be owing to the immense number of foreigners established in N. Y., attracted thither by the advantages of its commercial importance, amongst which one generally find a number of their own countrymen with whom they are happier than with others. The people of Philadelphia are stiff in their manners & not so hospitable as those of New York and the city, being surrounded by the sea, affords more pleasing prospects than Pennsylvania.

Long Island, which is separated from the main by the Eastern River, affords a delightful excursion to those who are fond of rural sports. The distance over to Brooklyn from New York is 1½ miles, where one can always be supplied with excellent carriages, made after the manner of the British post chaises. In autumn Long Island is celebrated for the quantity & excellence of its fruit, particularly the Newtown Pepin which is the most delicious of all apples. The gooseberry is likewise cultivated but it does not seem to thrive well with the soil. This is the only spot in America where grouse is to be found. It appears to be of the same class but of a different species from the Scotch moorfowl. They are not quite so large and the plumage is lighter than that of Scotland. Indeed all the species of game differ considerably from those found in Europe. The partridge is said to be found on the banks of the North River, but they are extremely rare. Many attempts have been made to introduce them into America but without effect. One sporting gentleman with whom I travelled, a Mr. Pollock of North Carolina, informed me that he was once at the expense of importing the eggs from France preserved in a certain manner, which he distributed among his friends all over the Union, but not one of them came out. It could scarcely be expected after having been tossed over the Atlantic. I have no doubt however, if proper measures were used to introduce them, that they would thrive well for the country affords abundance of cover.

During our residence in New York we experienced in a great degree

[3] George Frederick Cooke (1756–1812) and Thomas Abthorpe Cooper (1776–1849). The Anglo-American Cooper engaged the English star for a series of appearances in America in 1810–1811.

the hospitality and kind attentions of Col. Barclay,[4] his Majesty's Consul for the Eastern States, and at our departure he presented us with letters of introduction to the commanding officers on the different stations in Canada which were afterwards very useful to us.

On the 2 July we embarked in the Car of Neptune, one of the numerous steam boats which ply between New York & Albany.[5] The valuable and fashionable springs of Ballstown & Saratoga, a few miles from the banks of this river, attracted a great concourse. There were upwards of 150 passengers, chiefly consisting of the fashionable people of the State, led hither either on account of health or amusement. At 5 o'clock the machinery began to operate & the boat went off in great style at the rate of 6 miles an hour. We soon passed the [spot *or* place] where the unfortunate Hamilton was sacrificed to the feelings of jealousy and envy. On the spot where he fell in the duel with Burr there is a monument erected to his memory. Few pass it without leaving a regret behind for the misfortunes of this good man.

We entered among the highlands at midnight, but the moon shone bright and I do not know whether it was not the most advantageous time to view them. These hills are supposed to be the most romantic part of America. They are new to those who are accustomed to see nothing but a level country but to one who has witness[ed] the brown topped, magnificent mountains in Scotland, they are nothing uncommon. At day break we passed West Point, the fortification in which Arnold commanded, when the unfortunate Major André, actuated with too fervent a zeal for the benefit of his country, undertook to pay him that visit which cost him his life. It stands in a commanding situation & is reckoned to be the key of the North River. Among the numerous places at which we touched was Clermount, the seat of Mr. Livingston,[6] on which a great deal of agricultural taste & beauty was displayed. These Livingstons are the descendants of a Scotch family of that name of great eminence, who were obliged to leave their country in consequence of their affection to the Stuart family. Mr. L. has done much service to the agricultural interest of America. Among his other improvements he has introduced the merino breed, upon which he has devoted successfully all his attention. This gentleman first encouraged the *soi disant* inventor (Mr. Fulton) of steam boats in the United States and acquired by his influence with the

[4] Thomas Barclay (1753–1830), a native of New York City and son of a rector of Trinity Church, was a Loyalist who went to Nova Scotia after the Revolution but returned in 1799 as British Consul-general for the Eastern and Northern States, a position he held, with interruptions, until his death.

[5] The *Car of Neptune*, Robert Fulton's second Hudson River steamboat, was built in 1809 and ran until December 1816 when she was damaged beyond repair by ice.

[6] Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), Revolutionary statesman, Chancellor of the State of New York, and Minister to France at the time of the Louisiana Purchase.

THE STEAMBOAT [CAR OF NEPTUNE] ON THE HUDSON, 1811
Woodcut by Hewitt after sketch by J[ames S.] Glennie, [1811]
From *The Port Folio,* 3d. series, Vol. II, No. 5, November 1813

Gov[ernment] and in conjunction with him a patent for navigating the rivers for the space of 25 years, but the inhabitants have disputed this act of their Government on the same plea as the House of Representatives of Georgia disputed the Yazoo act, and in spite of the patent have established boats on every river in America and in the face of an Act of Congress.[7] In a country like America, where the vox populi is the law of the State, and where the most solemn acts of Government are rendered ineffectual if they in the least tend to operate against the equal liberty of all, the arts sciences and manufactures must linger in mediocrity, for there is nothing that will bring them sooner forward than just reward, which seems to be denied as incompatible with the liberty of the subject in this country.

At nine at night we touched at Hudson City, 132 miles from New York, to which vessels of 500 tons may ascend, opposite to which is Athens, a new town on the west side of the river at the bottom of the mountains, and at 3 o'clock in the morning we arrived at Albany which is 167 miles from New York.

The beauties of the North River consist in the boldness of its banks, the extensive sheet sometimes seen before one, & the numerous small

[7] In 1811, in the face of the Fulton-Livingston monopoly, a group of Albany investors built two steamboats, the *Hope* and the *Perseverance*, and put them in operation on the Hudson. On July 27th the *Hope* and Fulton's *North River* engaged in the first of the steamboat races.

vessels which are continuously to be seen plying backwards & forwards. Upwards of 2000 sail, of which from 10 to 50 tons, are exclusively employed on this river in removing the produce from the interior to the City & supply the inland population with necessaries.

The city of Albany at which we arrived on the morning of the 4 July 1811 is beautifully situated on the southern declivity of the hills on the East [*sic*] side of the river. It is chiefly built of brick and contains about 7000 inhabitants. The Capitol, in which the representatives of the State Legislature meet, is a modern & handsome building. There is a dome in the centre of the building on the top of which is erected a statue representing the Emblem of Justice, a very appropriate one certainly for the first court in the country, but the sculptor, whether from ignorance or with the view of imploring the goddess to lean more towards his country, has represented the balances in her left hand preponderating towards her self and the sword in her right in such a position as if she was resolved to maintain that preponderance. Gregories or the Federal Inn is a very comfortable one. It was here that Mr. Jackson was mobbed & the landlord now shews the wounds he received with exultation to every Englishman,

THE CAPITOL AT ALBANY AS DUNLOP SAW IT

Litho by Pendleton after a drawing by Henry Walton

The New-York Historical Society

when he imprudently rushed out amidst the mob to destroy the effigy of the Minister, which was displayed before the inn.[8]

Every one who travels in this part of the State is directed to the Keeper of the Circulating Library for information, for which he is entitled to great credit.[9] He lays himself out exclusively for this purpose and there is nothing in the North West country worthy of being seen that he cannot direct you to. He exacts from travellers nothing but a promise that he will transmit to him any thing that occurs worthy of communicating and the Library is well stocked with these remarks which are at the service of all who wish to see them.

From Albany there is a stage coach which sets off three times a week for Niagara. The fare from Albany to Utica $5.50
Utica to Geneva 5.00
Geneva to Canandagua . . . . . .75[10]
Canandagua to Buffaloe
6 cents per mile

But the inconvenience of travelling by stage is incalculable. Those who wish to see the natural curiosities which the country produces, such as the Salt Springs at Onondago and the sulphur mines a few miles beyond Geneva, must take private conveyances. To leave the stage would subject you to a residence among these people for some weeks probably or compel you to proceed in a waggon, exposed to all the arts of imposition which the innkeepers on this road are well experienced in.

The discharge of cannon soon after we got to bed ushered in the morning of the 4 July, a day regarded by all the Americans with the utmost veneration and celebrated with a frenzy approaching to madness by the Democratic party. The military assemble and after performing a few evolutions retire to one of the most commodious churches, where one of the young graduates, previously appointed, delivers an oration, upon which his success or insignificancy as a lawyer generally depends. The pulpit from whence the word of God is communicated to men is now converted into a forum from whence [with] the most sacreligious curses and profane epithets are denounced all the *would be* enemies of America. The oration finished, Democrat & Federal join their different

[8] Francis James Jackson (1770–1814), British Minister to the United States, 1809–1811. During the summer of 1810 Jackson, who was very unpopular with the Madison administration, made a tour of the North. He was very warmly received by the Federalists of Boston but at Albany had what Henry Adams called "the unusual experience of seeing himself burned in effigy."

[9] Probably John Cook, whose Library and Reading Room was advertised in *The Albany Gazette*, November 11, 1811.

[10] According to Joel Munsell, the chronicler of Albany, the stage line between Albany and Niagara Falls was opened in May 1811. He gives the same fares, with one exception: that from Geneva to Canandaigua was $5.75, not $.75 as Dunlop says. See Munsell, *The Annals of Albany*, V (Albany, 1854), 29.

and distinct parties; and [the] former spends the remainder of the day in one of the taverns, opposite to which the Cap of Liberty is erected on a pole, where they indulge in all the irregularities of licentious liberty; the latter retire to their families where among their friends they celebrate with moderation the anniversary of that day which secured to them the right of independence.

Although we were determined to retire from the bustle of the city early in the morning we were not able to get away until the afternoon, not being able to prevail on any one of the drivers to leave a scene which was so pleasant to them, and as we travelled along we perceived groups of

MAIL STAGE FROM ALBANY TO NIAGARA FALLS

Woodcut in *The Albany Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1811

country people feasting under the trees in every direction, in celebration of this momentous era; a convincing proof to what an extent low prejudice may be carried. The very Negroes in the Southern States, loaded with the shackles of bondage & slavery, are taught by the enthusiasm which prevails universally on this day to sing as they pass along: "Hail Columbia, happy land!"

We arrived at Schenectady, a beautiful little city situated on the banks of the Mohawk River, in time to witness a magnificent spectacle, which was displayed in commemoration of the evening. There was a grand display of fire works on the Mohawk river, the banks of which, as well as the beautiful bridge over it, were crowded with people, whilst innumerable boats, filled with the genteel class, moved upon the smooth surface of the river to the reverberating echo of a band of music which filled up the intervals between each fire rocket with martial music. The moon shone beautifully bright on all, and the reflection that within 40 years the spot of so much festivity was a frightful and terrific forest inhabited by the savage Mohawks immersed the imagination in serious thoughts on the mutability of all earthly establishments. What, thought

I, could these scenes have exhibited have [half?] a century ago, when inhabited by the fiercest of the Indian Nations. Could the warlike Mohawk, resting in tranquillity in the prowess of his arm, and in the supposition that the distance from the ocean was security to his territorial peace, could he have supposed it possible in the nature of events that in so short a period his power should be annihilated and himself and children driven from their native soil, to make room for an avaricious people. What would have been his feelings could he have looked forward to this evening and observed the descendants of his enemies, celebrating in effeminate festivity the independence of that country which they had wrested from him by acts of oppression & injustice.

Schenectady is 16 miles from Albany. The road is called a turnpike one, but it is a miserable example of one. It contains about 500 houses which are principally built of brick. It has a college,[11] but it is neither famed for the eminence of its professors nor, as a consequence, its success in producing any eminent scholars.

We left Schenectady on the morning of the 6th July and crossing the beautiful bridge over the Mohawk River continued along its northern bank highly delighted with the scenery it afforded. The banks are low and appear to be inundated in rainy weather, and these low lands which the water overflows are uncommonly rich. The road follows the course of the river, winding with it among innumerable settlements which the richness of the soil has attracted. The lands were covered with luxuriant crops and the whole bore more the appearance of an European settlement than a transatlantic one. After passing several villages of little consequence we dined at Palestine[12] and soon after passed the little falls of the Mohawk where the course of the river is choked with prodigious rocks which render it unnavigable, producing a wild & beautiful landscape. This interruption continues more than a mile & the navigation is continued by means of a canal, cut along its margin at a great expense. The country [is] uncommonly rocky, hence it is sometimes called *America petrea*.[13] In the evening we passed through Herkimer, a handsome town built on the north side of the river in one of the most beautiful valleys the imagination could paint, running on a dead level for a great extent and then rising abruptly in lofty [?] mountains. These plains are called the German Flats, are inundated at certain seasons of the year by the Mohawk River, which continually invigorates them, for they have the reputation of being the richest in the United States. They are inhabited by Dutch and Germans who still continue to speak their language and their fields shew that they have a good knowledge of agriculture and have not forgot their habits of industry. At 9 in the evening we arrived at

[11] Union College, founded 1795.
[12] Probably the village of Palatine Bridge.
[13] More commonly known as Stone Arabia.

Utica 78 miles from Schenectady where we put up for the evening. When we came out of the coach we were ushered into a miserable room which appeared to be full of politicians, each with a segar in his mouth. [They] seemed very desirous of hearing the news. The room was full of smoke but we could perceive a strong pressure at one corner, which we discerned to be the bar, within the railings of which a woman seemed to be vastly busy in fitting out liquor to those who crowded around the grate.

Utica, where [we] were obliged to remain until Monday, is a new town, built about 16 years ago on the site of Fort Schuyler. It has two neat churches, an Episcopalian & Protestant one of the Kirk of Scotland, and the houses are all built of wood in a neat modern style, but their interior comforts correspond very ill with their exterior appearance. Few places in America has made more rapid progress than this—in 1794 it contained only two houses and there is now in it upwards of 2000 inhabitants.

On Monday 8 July we prosecuted our journey and, after having crossed the Mohawk by one of the two bridges near Utica, we deviated from its banks in a western direction. We soon after passed Hartford, where a Federal lady came into the mail, a *rara avis* in these interior districts. At first she was guarded in her expressions, but as soon as she found we were from Britain there was no limits to her loquacity. She said her countrymen liked the French under the pretence of returning their acknowledgements for having assisted them to obtain their independence; but she differed from them on this point and maintained that the French were infinitely more indebted to the Americans for it was by them they were instructed in the art of war under the immortal Washington, which they never knew before & by which they have become so powerful.

12 miles from Hartford there is a glass manufactory near the village of Mount Vernon, which supplies the neighbourhood with this article at a rate somewhat cheaper than it can be brought from Europe, but in quality it is much inferior. Four miles beyond which the Oneida Wood commences, the abode of one of the 6 Nations, who are allowed the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions in consideration of their attachment to the United States during the Revolution. Their territory contains 835,000 acres in a circle in the center of which, on the banks of a creek which intersects it, they have built their town. This consists of a few miserable wooden houses scattered at great distances over a cleared space of about 2 miles extent without any regard to regularity. Their number amounts to about 200. Their abode, in the bosom of the White settlements, instead of stimulating them by example to industry, has operated quite contrarily and has even extinguished their zest for hunting, which is the only industrious pursuit the savage will undertake. Although by an act of the Government they are forbid to sell their land to any private individual, yet many by the connivance of the Legislature

EPISCOPAL CHURCH, UTICA, FOUR YEARS BEFORE DUNLOP'S VISIT

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1807

The New-York Historical Society

succeed in purchasing large portions of it, the proceeds of which are vested in the hands of the President as a security for their good behaviour. The interest of the stock they receive annually and it amounts to about $4000.

The Chief's house is painted red to distinguish it from the others. It is on the left hand side of the road near to a group of aged trees under which they hold their *Council Fires*. On entering it we perceived an old man laying on a couch in the farthest corner of a miserable hut. As soon as he saw us he held out his hand withered with age as a token of welcome which we approached & shook. There were several couches in the same apartment covered with the skins of leopards & other wild beasts which I think were the best I ever saw. On one of these his *Squaw* or wife sat watching his movements to administer to his wants. In the middle of the room hung a basket which was suspended from the roof, in which an infant lay asleep with its legs turned round the circumference of the basket, a circumstance rather differing from the general mode in which the Indians bring up their children, for in order to make them straight they bind them with bandages to a board where they remain from the earliest stages of infancy until they attain the age of 1 or 2 years. The walls of the house were ornamented with savage instruments

GENEVA, N.Y., FOUR YEARS BEFORE DUNLOP SAW IT

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1807

The New-York Historical Society

of war: the scalping knife, at which reflection shudders, and the curious instruments which the Chief had from time to time received as presents.

Neither he nor his wife could speak the English language although he understood it. His name he said was Yan Escaniatón[14] (or John the Bear), the name of one of the three tribes by which these Nations were designated. He was the oldest of the Chiefs, had served the British in the War of '46 which wrested the Canadas from the French. He had a peculiar way of telling us his age, which was 111 years. He could say "hundred," after which he nodded with his head; then holding up all his fingers, nodded again, and after, one finger. He complained of poverty and hunger. We gave him some money for which he expressed much gratitude in countenance, but as soon as he received it he turned round on his couch & sank into a lethargy in which we left him.

His form displayed the remains of a strong constitution, but the hand of time left only the shadow of it. A few days longer must infallibly have swept all that was mortal of him into the realms of his forefathers and he seemed to be resigned to his fast approaching dissolution.

The Wood continues some miles after you pass the town, beyond which the country assumes a more cultivated aspect. We dined at an inn 16 miles beyond the Oneida settlement & afterwards, passing through the mountainous township of Manlius, we arrived in the evening at

[14] Probably the noted Oneida chief Skenandoa or Scanandoa, "the white man's friend," who died at Oneida Castle on March 11, 1816, reputedly aged about 110 years.

Onondago, a neat little village about 5 miles from the Salina Lake and 50 from Utica.

The Salina or Onondago Lake is celebrated for the numerous salt springs which are found on its margin and which supplies all the North West country with this useful article of life, at the moderate price of 31 cents per bushel of 136 lbs. at the works. The water is said to be 10 times stronger than that of the sea. A vast number of pans are constantly employed. The salt finds its way through the Lakes into the Ohio & Mississippi Rivers at a small additional expense.

From Onondago there is a mode of conveyance by water to Niagara, much shorter & infinitely more pleasant than by the stage road which now becomes extremely bad. The distance to Salina[15] is only 5 miles, where you can at all times procure a boat for Oswego & from hence there are opp[y] [opportunities] almost every day for Queenstown on the Niagara river. By this method you avoid the Batavian Causeway which is only passable at certain seasons in a waggon.

Early on the 9th we departed from Onondago & passing through the military township of Marcellus breakfasted at a small village on the Sceneateles [Skaneateles] Lake which bears its name. Next stage brought us to the Cayuga village, built also on a beautiful lake of the same name over which formerly there was a bridge of a mile's extent, but of which there are only the posts remaining. 14 miles from Cayuga is the town of Geneva, situated on an eminence at the head of the Seneca Lake and commanding a beautiful prospect of it. Geneva is a place where a person may pass a few days very comfortably. The inn is a very good one and the lake affords in common with the others in the neighbourhood excellent sport, abounding in trout, perch & several other fish peculiar to the climate. In the vicinity of Geneva there is a spring of native sulphur which oozes out of the ground in several places and covers an extent of several acres with this mineral, sufficient to supply all the apothecaries' shops in the United States.

Canandaigua is a small town 16 miles beyond Geneva built on the banks of a lake 18 miles long and on the site of an Indian village. 15 miles farther brought us to Avon, an inn on the banks of the Genesee River, which gives name to one of the finest districts in America. The soil of the Genesee Country is a black palpable loam, very deep. It produces immense wheat crops and we were told that the grass grew in some parts of it to the height of 10 feet. The pasturage is also better than in any other part of the continent and immense flocks of sheep and cattle are raised on it. One farmer of the name of Wadsworth,[16] to give some idea of the extent of farming in this district, had upwards of 4000 sheep and

[15] Now part of Syracuse.

[16] James or William Wadsworth, pioneer settlers of the Genesee Country.

a quantity of cattle which enabled him annually to send to market 10,000 lbs. of cheese.

The stage coach can go 25 miles beyond Avon but here it broke down, which compelled us to have recourse to a waggon which is the usual mode of conveyance, much sooner than we intended. And behold us now, the clergyman and myself, sitting tete a tete on an open cart upon two chairs, jogging on at a rate that gave us time to moralize on the pleasures of travelling in America. We were at a loss to decide whether the cart or the coach was the most comfortable. Divesting each of the prejudice of its name, we agreed that the cart was the most comfortable, because in it we had a chair for ourself with a back to it, while in the other you might perhaps only get the one third of one & that without a back to it.

The Genesee river is about 60 yards broad, over which there is a good bridge. The banks are very high & steep, notwithstanding which it frequently overflows the surrounding county, such is the quantity of water which runs into [it] from its numerous branches.

About 8 miles beyond Avon there is a settlement of Scotchmen who emigrated from their country with Colonel Williamson.[17] They have bestowed the name of Caledonia to the district although in appearance it bears no similarity.

These Highlanders, in changing their soil, seem to have left behind them all their knowledge of agriculture. Their lands are in a state of uncultivated waste and they depend principally for sustenance on their neighbours and the excellence of the pasturage of the natural woods which supply abundance of food for their cattle without any labour. They have hitherto, altho one or two generations have passed since they were brought to America, preserved their dialect. We found however that they had lost their politics, for they had to a man imbibed the principles of Democracy, and it is a maxim in America that when a Scot becomes a Republican, he is the most thoroughgoing of his party.

The town of Batavia is about 17 miles beyond Caledonia. It is built on the Toniwanto [Tonawanda] Creek, in a very low and swampy plain, a situation which the Dutch seem to delight in. These lands were purchased by a company of that nation, where a colony of their countrymen settled, hence its origin. Eight years ago the site of this town & its vicinity was a complete desert & now it contains probably 1000 inhabitants, is of considerable magnitude, and has two spired churches which, as well as the houses, are built in a neat modern style. The fields, tho in an infant state of cultivation, produce sufficient grain for the use of the people, and almost all their other wants are supplied to them from their

[17] Charles Williamson (1757–1808), Scottish-born land promoter in western New York for the Pulteney interests (1791–1802).

own resources, viz., sugar from the maple tree & spirits from the malt & peaches which it abounds with.

The juice of the maple tree is extracted by different methods. Some cut two incisions in the tree terminating in a point in the form of an acute angle, in which they fix a quill, while others merely bore a hole with an augur. A tolerable large tree will produce 3 gallons of juice in 24 hours, which is boiled in the same manner as they do the juice of the sugar cane in the West Indies, but they have not the art of tempering it for the sugar is of a brown color & clammy consistency which in its raw state would be considered as unfit for use by a West Indian. It has a flavour I think preferable to that made of the cane, which it loses by being refined. In the month of March, or as soon as the thaw commences, the trees must be bled, for the juice taken from them in summer or late in the spring will not produce sugar.

The great causeway begins 4 miles this side of Batavia and continues with few interruptions for 18 miles beyond it. It is constructed with logs, which are laid across the road to render it passable. These are laid without any regard having been paid to regularity and as they are not covered with earth the [*illegible*] from a large to a small one is very great and this renders the passage of it almost impracticable by a carriage, the risk of breaking the spring occurring every minute. However it has been passed and if the gig is light & the passengers alight there may be not much risk.

At day break on the 11th we mounted our waggon with our minds prepared to encounter this most terrible of roads. The people exaggerate the difficulties in passing this causeway to such a degree that many are intimidated from attempting it and after they have come so far return without seeing the object of their journey, altho it is within 50 miles of it. We were highly diverted by the description our driver gave us of a ridiculous method adopted by the party who preceded us. They fitted out their waggon in the most outrée manner with a platform upon which they placed mattresses and substituting oxen in the place of the horses passed over at a slow & soft pace to the no small merriment of the country people and even the driver, who could scarcely suppress his sentiments, as he said, in seeing gentlemen so ridiculously imposed upon, altho it was to his own advantage.

We were upwards of 6 hours in getting over these 18 miles, most of which we walked. Soon after we entered an open space free of wood called the Oak Plains, which has every appearance of having been once the scene of some great battle, of which there is no account. The vestiges of fortifications and particularly a tomb lately discovered, out of which upwards of 100 human skulls have been taken, confirm the supposition entertained by the inhabitants that it was once the field of some bloody conflict. These unfortunate warriors have been disturbed by the avari-

cious countrymen who have dug to the bottom of the pit in hopes of finding something valuable entombed with them, but little of either gold or silver has been found nor any thing else to ascertain whether they were Europeans or savages. The Oak Plains have acquired that name from their being covered with shrubby oak which grows no higher than 2 or 3 feet. The general opinion is that the wood has been cut down by the combatants, but this I conceive to be a mistake, for if the land ever produced large trees they would have grown up again. I would rather attribute it to the abundance of some mineral substance in the soil prejudicial to the growth of trees which, if searched into, might be connected to the advantage of the country.

We dined at an inn in the middle of the plains called Clarence on miserable fare, and having according to the usage of all travellers on this road paid our obeisance at the shrine of the "beauty of the County of Niagara," the daughter of an innkeeper a few miles farther on (Miss Ransom)[18] we arrived at Buffaloe on Lake Erie at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Buffaloe is situated at the outlet of Lake Erie on the banks of a creek from which it derives its name, about 40 miles from Batavia. Nothing can exceed the scenery which the first glimpse of Lake Erie affords. The horizon in one direction is bounded by natural forests, while in another the eyes follow the extensive bosom of the Lake until it is lost in the rotundity of the globe. This last astonishes when we consider the immense distance it is from the ocean. Lake Erie is about 225 miles long and 40 broad. In severe winters it is almost all frozen over and the inhabitants say that the moon has some influence on it, causing it to flow and ebb some inches. It is astonishing that the most incessant rains have no effect either in swelling these Great Lakes or changing the colour of their waters. The numerous muddy creeks which run into them affect only their margins, along which they keep their muddy course as if their qualities were unmixable, something like the appearance of the sea coast near the mouth of a river after great rains. The banks of Lake Erie in the vicinity of Buffaloe is the residence of the Seneca Indians, another of the Six Nations who were attached to the republican cause, for which they have been permitted the enjoyment of their ancient territory. The lands reserved for them are very extensive, although their number does not exceed 1500 souls of which there are about 300 warriors. Their intercourse with the Whites is greater than at Oneida. Whilst we were in a shop into which we had taken shelter from a shower, an Indian came in to borrow money, which the shopkeeper gave him, assuring us there were many among them he had no hesitation in trusting. The summer months they pass idly in their huts but in the winter they repair to the Aleghany Mountains for the purposes of hunting, in which they con-

[18] Probably a daughter of Asa Ransom, first settler of Clarence Hollow, now Clarence, Erie County.

tinue until the return of spring, when they return loaded with the skins of the spoil, with which they are enabled to pay their debts.

Their interpreters are two young men, the children of soldiers who fell into their hands when they were babes & brought up amongst them. When they grew up to the years of puberty, it was with the greatest difficulty their friends could prevail on them to leave their savage preceptors, and nothing but a promise of allowing them to return succeeded in parting them, so rooted an attachment had nature imbibed. These young men, extraordinary as it may appear, after they had got a little education, preferred returning to them, by which they obtained very independent fortunes, for immediately on their return the Indians presented each of them with a square mile of land on the banks of the Niagara River, which grant at the request of the sachems & chiefs was confirmed by the Legislature. The reply of Red Jacket, one of their chiefs & orator, to a missionary who had been sent from the New England States to convert them is remarkable for its shrewdness. After having commented in figurative but expressive language, for which these beings with all their ignorance are so celebrated, on the rapaciousness of the Whites in first seizing and depriving them of their earthly possessions and then attempting to force from them their religion, he stated that the Indians were very well contented with their mode of worship as it had been handed down to them by their forefathers from time immemorial, but in order to convince the people of Massachusetts of their openness to conviction, he advised the missionary to reside some time among their brothers the Whites of Buffaloe and if he succeeded in changing their principles and making them more honest to the Indians, then they would take the object of his mission into further consideration.

The whole tract of country from Schenectady to Buffaloe has not been settled more than 37 years. Many towns are now to be seen of considerable magnitude, the sites of which 10 years ago were impenetrable deserts inhabited only by Indians and wild beasts. The fertility of the lands and the facility of obtaining them have been the means of its rapid movement. The productions are wheat, Indian corn, rye, oats and a grain peculiar to America called buck wheat, which seems to be a favorite one. The people in these new settlements have no idea of comfort themselves and consequently are not aware of the feelings which the want of it creates in others who have been accustomed to it. The accommodations are extremely wretched & the fare made ready without any regard to cleanliness or nicety.

We stopped all night at Buffaloe to refresh ourselves and next morning proceeded in a waggon to Black Rock Ferry, which is about 3 miles from it. The Niagara River being unnavigable both above & below the falls, the produce & salt are carried by land and deposited at the store houses, several of which are built at Black Rock, from whence it is

shipped to the various places on Lake Erie & the rivers Ohio & Mississippi. The river is about 1 mile broad at the ferry. The current is rapid and we were soon wafted over to the village of Erie about 2 miles below Black Rock.

[*Dunlop and his traveling companion spent almost a month in Upper and Lower Canada. After crossing the Niagara frontier on July 12th, they spent several days taking in the sights around the Falls, then took boat for Kingston and continued by bateau down the St. Lawrence to Montreal (July 27) and Quebec (August 2).*]

From Quebec it was our intention to have proceeded to Boston by Sir James Craig's road,[19] which was lately cut with much difficulty through one of the most impenetrable deserts in North America, but we found it was only passable in winter and when the snow is sufficiently hard to admit sleighing. This is owing to the uninhabitable state of the country between Quebec and the States and the numerous lakes and rivers thro which the road passes over which there have not been any bridges built. We were therefore obliged to retrace our steps to Montreal and travel south by way of Lake Champlain, which is not less interesting than the one we contemplated.

We lost nothing by this retrograde motion. His Grace the Duke of Manchester had given it out as his intention to travel to Montreal on the same day and we found the people prepared to entertain him as far as they could suitable to his rank. At every inn we stopped to eat there were clean table cloths & superior dinners and it was with some difficulty we could persuade the landlords that neither of us were his Grace. The disappointment they evinced was evident when they found that any other person should have feasted on the fare provided for his Excellency the Governor of Jamaica.

On the 8th of August we crossed at Papineaux ferry from Montreal to the opposite side. This ferry is very tedious on account of the shallowness & velocity of the stream in some places. From the ferryhouse there is a delightful ride along the banks of the river to La Prairie de la Madeline, which is 7 miles. Here we dined and in the afternoon proceeded to St. Johns, which is the place of embarkation for those who travel by the steam boat on Lake Champlain. The road from St. Johns leads along the Richelieu river. This river, which is likewise called the Sorrell, is the outlet by which the waters of the lakes are discharged into the St. Lawrence. In its course there are many shallows or rapids which obstruct the navigation except with bateaux between the St. Lawrence & Lake Champlain.

St. Johns, which is one of the outposts between the British dominions and the United States, is 18 miles from the ferry, on the west side of the

[19] Sir James Henry Craig (1748–1812), a British army officer, was Governor-General of Canada from 1807 to 1811.

Sorrell River. There are still some parts of the old fortifications remaining with which it was surrounded, which are of earth, but they have been allowed to fall into disrepair. The steam boat goes from hence once a week on Saturdays between 9 & 10 in the morning and affords an excellent conveyance to the bottom of Lake Champlain. There is always a detachment of troops stationed here, who call upon all passengers for a small tribute & their names before the Boat is suffered to depart.

The line of demarkation between the British Colonies and the American States crosses the river about 24 miles beyond St. Johns. Here the boat is boarded by a Yankee customhouse officer who gives a great deal of trouble in searching all the luggage for British manufactures in compliance with the laws of his country. The non-intercourse act is forceably put into practice here but the people easily evade it and I perceived that if one had been very desirous of not having his trunk searched that a small douceur would have accomplished it.

The river becomes wider here and soon after we enter the lake, whose wood clothed banks and the numerous islets with which its smooth surface is interspersed present a most beautiful landscape. Early next morning a great many of the passengers left us at Burlington, from whence there is a direct conveyance to New York. This is an extensive city on the side of the lake. All the officers of government are here called judges and the most part of the judges are innkeepers &c. At 2 o'clock we entered Basin Harbour for a supply of wood. This is the neatest little haven one could well imagine. Its shape is truly like a basin of small circumference and the water around which is so deep that vessels lay at the land all around it. There is a solitary inn here which is kept by the captain of the boat, the scenery about which is very beautiful, combining much of the wild with the beauties of agriculture.

At 4 in the afternoon we passed Crown Point where so much devastation was witnessed during the wars in Canada. It is said to have derived its name from the horrid scalping scenes which took place in its vicinity, but I imagine its commanding situation rather gave it the appellation. It was built on a point of land at a very narrow part of [the] lake on the west side of it and it so effectually guarded the strait that no vessel could attempt to pass without eminent danger. Its fortifications however are now demolished and there is nothing of them remaining to be seen but a fire proof house and the ruins of the bastions, which appear to have been regular.

Tyconderoga, or as it is called by the natives, Ty, is about 12 miles south of Crown Point. It is situated on high land at the entrance into Lake George, which it commands. Its fortifications are likewise demolished. When this strong hold was surprised by the Continentals at the beginning of the Revolutionary War there were 112 pieces of cannon found on the battlements and now there is no vestige of them remaining.

It is commanded by an almost inaccessible hill which rises behind it, within point blank shot, called Mount Defiance, probably from the supposed impossibility of getting up cannon. However the British forces overcame these obstacles and it was from thence that it was recovered.

On the second night at 12 o'clock we arrived at Schenesborrough [Skenesborough] or Whitehall, in the State of New York, where we disembark. This is 161 miles distant from St. Johns, which we accomplished in less than 39 hours, which is something more than 4 miles an hour including stoppages. The boat is pretty large but it is neither so commodious or so comfortable as those on the North River. Indeed it is universally observed all over America that the farther you recede from the cities the less comfort you experience in travelling. The people in the interior have no idea of comfort and do not exert themselves to afford others what they are either not susceptible of or profess too much simplicity of manners to indulge.

At Whitehall we hired a waggon for we could procure no other conveyance with which we proceeded early on the 12th August. Our driver was a very entertaining fellow. Every good looking house which we passed was occupied either by an uncle or a cousin of his. His stories were rather of the marvelous sort and among the rest he informed us that he had been cured of a *galloping* consumption, which the doctors had declared past hope, by swallowing the heart of a rattle snake. We found on enquiry that this prejudice is really entertained by the people and whether or not they have any reason for it they certainly attach great virtues to the heart of this animal. The country, which is not well cultivated, abounds with them and particularly the banks of the lake where they are not only numerous but prodigiously large. We observed in passing along that a great many women were employed in weaving a kind of cotton cloth which we were informed they sold at ¾ of a dollar per yard, equal to about 1/9 Sterling; but the manufactures of America are many centuries behind those of Europe.

The road, which was tolerably good but sandy, led through the towns of Fort Ann, Kingsburg & Queensberry, a little beyond which are the romantic falls of the North River at Glen's Bridge. There are two large saw mill establishments here, one on each side of the river, which cut a prodigious quantity of wood in a day and supply the demand in the New York market for planks and boards, a great part of which are sent from thence to the West Indies. The prodigious rocks which occasion these falls are very beautiful and near to one of them a handsome bridge is thrown over, from which it is seen to great effect. The caves in these rocks are numerous and some of them worth seeing and particularly if it is hot weather they afford a delicious cool retreat.

From Glens Falls the way leads through an extensive pine barren or sandy desert which produces no other tree but the pine that yields pitch.

However in this the surface is covered over with stinted hazel bushes which were loaded with nuts, and the hurtle berry [whortleberry ?] is found likewise in the greatest abundance. It appeared that the trees were turned to good account for the greatest part of them were tapped. In a short time after we passed the limits of this wood we got to Saratoga Springs, which are about 9 miles from the village of that name, the neighbourhood of which is celebrated in revolutionary history for the misfortunes of Burgoigne and the surrender of the British army under his command to the republican General Gates. It was here that the gallant General Frazer was killed, and he was buried with military honours in the heart of the battle, amidst the thundering sounds of the enemies cannon which added a dreadful solemnity to the ceremony.

In the evening we arrived at the Sans Souci Inn at Balltown [Ballston], just in time for a grand ball, but the waggon in which we had travelled 50 miles had disabled us from enjoying it. Balltown is the Cheltenham of the United States and in summer it is resorted to by all the fashionables of the Union, some for pleasure & others in quest of health, of which the water is considered a renovator. The component parts of the water being similar to those of Cheltenham and this and Saratoga being the only springs of the same kind in America, they are consequently attended by prodigious crowds, from the extreme parts of the States. The

BALLSTON SPRINGS (SANS SOUCI INN, LEFT OF CENTER), 1811

Watercolor by James S. Glennie, August 3, 1811

André de Coppet Collection, Princeton University Library

situation is low, wild and uncultivated, but where company is to be seen this is not considered in any part of the world. However it says little for the taste of the Americans that a place that is the most fashionable resort which they can boast of and which is capable of so much improvement should present such a neglected appearance. The inns however are excellent and especially the Sans Souci which can accommodate comfortably one hundred and seventy people. There are four or five other inns but none quite so large, all of which during the months of July and August are full, which might give some idea of the concourse which frequent it.

The diversions consist of billiards during the morning for gentlemen, for the weather is so insufferably hot that it is impossible to walk out, and dancing or playing cards generally pass away the evenings alternately. As for the ladies, they resort to the springs very early, where they vie with each other which will swallow most water, after which they are very little seen, except at breakfast, until dinner time, when all the party in the house sit down to dinner at the same table, which must be confessed is a pleasant plan at a watering place. In the cool of the evening they make a second excursion to the springs but the water is not drunk with so much gout as in the morning. The Library, which is a selection of the most useless novels, supplies the ladies with entertainment during the heat of the day, from which they cram their heads with romantic expressions which are sure to come out, frequently *mal a propos*, during the evening.

The water, when taken on an empty stomach, operates cathartically, and when it is drunk after dinner it goes off diuretically. It is at first rather unpleasant to the taste, but it soon gains upon the palate. Besides the salt springs there are others highly impregnated with sulphur which are not so agreable and are only used by invalids. The hot and cold baths which are attached to the Sans Souci make it the most comfortable inn in the place.

This immense house belongs to a merchant of New York and much as it is crowded it does not pay him more than 3 per cent interest on his outlay. It is built of wood and covers three sides of an extensive square, the front of which is 2 or 300 feet broad. The whole cost upwards of 70,000 dollars which, considering the cheapness of the materials with which it is constructed, must give some notion of its extent. The front of the lower flat contains two large public rooms, one for dining in and the other for dancing or in which the ladies walk about in after dinner; each of these rooms are upwards of 100 feet long by 50 or 60 broad. The rest of the house is entirely converted into bedrooms. It is kept by a Frenchman who entertains his guests in a more handsome style than is to be met with in any other part of America and for which he charges the moderate sum of 7 dollars a week, which is considerably less than

CONGRESS SPRINGS IN THE VILLAGE OF SARATOGA, 1816

Aquatint by J. Hill from drawing by C. A. Lesueur, 1816

From *Mineral Waters of Ballston and Saratoga . . .* (Philadelphia: 1817)

what is paid in the most miserable inn in any of the cities, but the custom of drinking wine make[s] it an expensive place for unfortunately the water & claret agree well together and every gentleman is expected to drink it.

Saratoga Springs are 7 miles from Balltown and altho there are some comfortable inns near them yet they are not so much resorted to as those at Ballstown. The most fashionable plan is to reside at Ballstown and make morning excursion to Saratoga for the benefit of the Congress Spring water, which is of the same quality but much stronger than the other, the effects of which are more instantaneous. The morning ride also tends much to the promotion of health. The Saratoga Springs were the first that were known. The lands belonged when America was a British colony to Sir Wm. Johnston [Johnson] and it is said that the Indians were in the habit of administering the water to the wounded that fell into their hands, by which it was discovered. There are 11 different springs all in the same valley which seems to abound with many more. Some of these are so mild that the salt taste is scarcely perceptible & others again and particularly the last that has been opened, called the Congress Spring,[20] so strong that few can drink it and one glass will

[20] The Congress Spring derived its name from "the collective strength and combined qualities of its waters" according to Horatio Gates Spafford's *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Albany, 1813), 289.

operate as effectually and promptly as half a dozen of the others. The Rock Spring, which is the oldest & most mild, is a great curiosity. It issues from the top of a rock which rises out of the ground in the shape of a bell. The rock is evidently a petrefaction, which is very extraordinary, as none of the other springs which are supposed to be of the same quality petrify the surface from which they flow.

When the weather is not too hot the excursions from Ballstown to Lake George & Saratoga Pond are very fashionable and pleasant. The latter is a celebrated place for trout, a fish which is extremely scarce in America, and there is a farmer who resides on the banks of it who has fitted out his house and stocked it with old wine for the entertainment of those who visit it. Our party consisted of three Charleston gentlemen and myself and we had a striking instance in the conduct of the landlord of the value of travelling in the character of a Carolinian. When we drove up to the house the first thing we enquired was if he could give us a fish dinner and we were immediately ans[were]d in the negative and were told that a party had called a few minutes before and carried off all he had, and the sun was too high for to catch any more. We were very much disappointed and before we would relinquish our design we repaired to the pond, in which we perceived the lines set up, in hopes of catching some ourselves. We had no sooner got to the pond before we saw the landlord stalking towards us with rapidity, for finding that we were from the South from the driver he was not fond of losing so fine an opp[ortunit]y of disposing of some of his trout to advantage. He began by apologizing for having taken us for *Vermont Blades* who he said were a *Slim Sett*, for they came and asked what they should pay for a luncheon and ate a whole dinner, by which he suffered considerably and he was determined never to be civil to them; but he understood we were Carolinians, whom he said were gentlemen, and if we were disposed to dine with him he could give us a[s] fine a dish of fish as the pond could produce and as good a bottle of wine as any in the United States.

We departed from Balltown on the 23 August and dined 24 miles from it at Waterford, a handsome village situated at the junction of the Mohawk and North River and about a mile from the beautiful falls called the Cohoes on the former. The bridge over the Hudson at this place is probably one of the finest in America. Our dinner was a very elegant one; upwards of 30 sat down to table, the greatest part of whom were allured by the charms of the beautiful barmaid, an uncommon fine girl who lives at the inn in this capacity, in which she is an invaluable acquisition to the landlord. This seems to be a general depot for travellers and there is a register, in which every person is requested to set down his name, which he may accompany with a bright idea if he pleases. The numerous sallies of the imagination, the contrasts of wit and vulgarity which appear thro its pages, render it a very laughable volume.

After dinner we continued our journey to Lansingburg on the opposite side of the river, and thence to Troy 3 miles beyond it. Troy is very extensive and delightfully situated about 12 miles above Albany on the opposite side of the Hudson. The houses are elegant, chiefly built of brick, and it appears to be a flourishing & populous city. We recross the North River here by ferry and proceed thro the lands of Mr. Van Ranselaer which extend for 12 miles along the west bank of the river. The road thro this property is very fine, the fields are well cultivated, which in America, where there is so much wild scenery, enchant the eye. On our arrival at Albany, which was rather late in the evening, we found much difficulty in getting accommodations for the night; so great was the concourse of people that the inns were all full. We were however again indebted to the character under which we travelled for comfortable beds, which nothing else could have procured for us.

The next day we hired a carriage to take us to Lebannon, a place celebrated for its natural hot baths about 30 miles east of Albany on the borders of the States of New York and Massachusetts. We ferried immediately over to Greenbush, a military depot opposite to Albany, in the neighbourhood of which there has lately been discovered a spring very highly impregnated with sulphur, well worth the attention of the chemist. The mineral qualities of the water are so powerful that it discolours silver the instant it is dipped into it, and its taste is extremely obnoxious.

The road from hence to Lebannon is very mountainous and the lands are principally laid down in pasture. On them great numbers of horses are raised and it is here where the greatest part of those are obtained which are sent to the West Indies. The value demanded by the farmer is from 40 to 50 dollars each. The hot springs are about 2 miles beyond the village of Lebannon. They issue from near the summit of a mountain which is about 2000 feet high, around which there is a comfortable inn & baths capable of accommodating a large party. The springs are very abundant, that there is never any want of water. The degree of heat is 95°. The water is very soft & pleasant to the taste. Its diuretic qualities are very strong and it is recommended in gout and rheumatic complaints. Wonderful cures of the latter are said to have been performed by the use of it. The country in the neighbourhood of these springs is very beautiful; naturally so in the romantic formation of a fertile valley and the bold mountains which surround it; and artificially so by its being the abode of a body of Shaking Quakers, an industrious set of people whose agricultural labours have added much to its natural situation.

These religious fanatics were the followers of Ann Lee[21] who with her

[21] Ann Lee (1736–1784) and her Manchester followers came to New York in 1774 and established the first American Shaker settlement near Albany. Mother Ann, as she was known, was regarded by her followers as the reincarnation of Christ.

adherents were banished from Manchester about 30 years ago on account of the absurdity of their principles, and they have found an asylum here under the protection of the Government, where contrary to every expectation they have increased amazingly, for besides this establishment, with [which?] consists of upwards of 400, there are several others in the interior of New York and Pennsylvania. If we lay aside their religious tenets (which are indeed ridiculous and operate contrary to the political system of America, viz. [?] population) they must be allowed to be a very useful part of the community. Among them there are tradesmen of every description who are constantly employed in their various occupations, and what they make for sale is done faithfully and they never charge more than what it is really worth. Hence it is that they are exclusively employed by the people around them as smiths, joiners &c. Besides these occupations they make every species of cloth which they use themselves and supply the neighbourhood with this article which is much better than one would imagine. Some are employed in making cheese, others in cultivating the ground, and every thing that they make is *useful* and of the best kind, with which their neighbours are supplied.

Their manners are simple & their habits extremely frugal. Their stock of wordly property, which consists of about 2300 acres of land and the product of their industry, is common to all. They live together under the same roof, eat together, and each, both male & female, is employed for the common welfare.

The religious principles of these enthusiasts are founded on strict continency and a total abstinence from women. They abjure the first law of nature, the primitive cause of creation, the fountain from which Love in its purest shape emanates, the natural, and lawful intercourse between male & female, and they profess their belief that by these means the world is to end and the "Gathering of the People" to be accomplished. How absurd and ridiculous the idea! And notwithstanding instances occur frequently among the younger part of themselves which should convince them of the fallaciousness of their maxim, yet they are continually increasing and daily adding to their numbers. The causes are obvious. Their property being common to all and their mode of living so easy and independent, there are many in society, and especially in an American society, who would espouse any opinion to obtain a maintainance so easily; for as soon as they are admitted as a member for their sect, they become in common with the whole, entitled to all their advantages & immunities. Hence it is evident that interest and not opinion influence the greatest part of them.

It is well for them that they inhabit a country which is covered with snow for three quarters of the year; and I think nothing would operate so strongly to change their sentiments than that of removing them for a few years into the Torrid Zone where Nature, without any other as-

sistance, would soon destroy the foundation on which they build their faith. America, blush for shame at your inconstancy !!! At the same time that you are allowing the subjects of other nations to populate the extensive region of Columbia, you are encouraging a sect who, contrary to the Laws of God and the will of man, are endeavouring to frustrate by their professions & exhortation the grand object of your policy, which is about to involve you in a calamitous war! By granting these fanatics lands in the Southern States and removing them thither, where the influence of the sun is more powerful and lasting, the thousand who have now abdicated thy delicious banquets, O Cupid, would in a few years be multiplied into tens of thousands and the Yazoo regions of Georgia would in a short time vie in population with the plains of Pennsylvania???

The principles of their belief they pretend are taken from Scripture, and they have a Bible of their own as voluminous as ours. It appears to have been written by a person of talents, for the sophistry & logic made use of is very apt to take. It enjoins morality & godlyness, but the practical part of their worship is truly ridiculous, and can not be witnessed without contempt and ridicule. On Sunday we visited their meeting house along with a large party led hither like ourselves by curiosity. It was conspicuous for the simplicity of its construction and cleanness, for one might have ate his dinner from any part of the floor. There was neither pulpit nor any fixed seats, except a few forms [benches] for the strangers which were removable at pleasure. About 10 they began to collect. The men stood on one side and the women on the other. Their dress was uniform, that of the men consisted of a broad brimmed hat, coat, waistcoat & breeches of blue cloth cut in a particular style, with stockings of the same colour. The women wore white linen caps tied under their chin with broad belt of the same material, white bedgown, petticoat & shawl of grey stuff and a checked apron, and so much similarity prevailed that their Hfs [? handkerchiefs] and shoe strings were exactly alike. As soon as they were assembled they formed themselves on each side of the house leaving a little space between each sex and began to sing verses to the tunes of old ballads, keeping time with ridiculous movements with both their heads & feet. After this a silence of some minutes ensued during which they seemed lost in fumbling with their thumbs. They then arranged themselves in phalanx, the men previously throwing off their coats and hanging them against the wall. When this was done one of their elders (for as they worship only by action & not by words they have no priests) stepped out of his place and addressed us something to the following effect:

"Although our mode of worship will appear to you spectators as a very ridiculous one, yet we are convinced that it is the only way to salvation for we have experienced its effects. We have no wish to address you on

the subject of religion, for whilst you continue to live in your present manner and refuse to deny yourselves worldly lust, we consider our words in vain and our time thrown away. We have only to request one favor of you and that is that you will behave yourselves in a godly manner and abstain from laughing during the service."

Then addressing himself by way of exhortation to his brethren he said:

"You have been long acquainted with the worship of God & all of you have found from experience that it is the only one. You know your duty and I beseech you to go forward with zeal and fervency in the Lord for having made you acquainted with his power."

As soon as he had finished the rank nearest to the wall stood still and sang a quick tune to which the phalanx began to skip backwards & forwards using a particular step which beat to the music, and they continued in this exercise, this act of devotion which no one could credit unless they were an eye witness to it, for nearly half an hour, and until they were all covered with sweat. It was impossible to be a tacit spectator to such a scene and, notwithstanding the reasonable address we had received, loud bursts of laughter came out in spite of all our exertion to restrain them, and these increased to such an extent that they put a premature end to the ceremony. The music stopped and the elder came forward & said that they never prevented strangers from visiting their church, for religion ought to be open to all, that they worshipped according to their ideas and, altho poor *Shakers*, they probably stood as high in the sight of God as those before him who appeared so big in the world. They harmed no one & they expected to enjoy the exercise of their worship without mockery and derision, but since this is denied he was under the necessity of dismissing the meeting. He then told us roundly that we should suffer for our derision of the true worship in the other world & he even went so far as to say that we would all be damned for it.

[During the remaining two and a half months of his American tour Dunlop visited Boston, Newport, Providence, Hartford, New Haven, and Baltimore. After a final "very agreeable" visit to New York, he embarked on the 9th of November on the ship Ariosto for Havana. His journal concludes with a poem describing the voyage to Cuba and a prose description of Havana. Of his subsequent career nothing is known.]

HIGHEST HONORS FOR DR. KIMBALL, DR. PRENTIS, AND DR. OLDS

LONG YEARS of loyal service to their universities were recognized at Commencement time when New York University granted the degree of Doctor of Laws to its retiring Vice Chancellor and Comptroller—our President, Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, when Columbia University made our Trustee, Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, a Doctor of Science, and when Yale University conferred upon Dr. Irving Sands Olds, First Vice President of our Society, the degree of Doctor of Laws. It is a great satisfaction to us that these men, each nationally distinguished in his own field, should have received the highest honor of his university in recognition of his professional achievements and of a lifetime of generous and distinguished service to his Alma Mater. We have great pleasure in reprinting below the citations which accompanied the presentation of their honorary degrees.

LEROY E. KIMBALL, Vice Chancellor and Comptroller of New York University, on the eve of retirement, after forty-five years of service in the business office of this institution, is presented for the degree of Doctor of Laws. Valued alumnus of Albion College and Master of Arts of New York University, his academic interests have ranged far beyond the realm of finance. Now president of The New-York Historical Society, and hitherto, at one time or another, president of the Association of American Colleges, the Modern Language Association of America, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, and various other eminent polysyllabics, his catholicity of interest, executive talent and zeal for the advancement of worthy causes have given wide and effective range to his leadership. Primarily devoted withal to this university, to which he has given unremittingly the entire span of his mature life, he stands aloft among the men and women of the past century and a quarter whose lengthened shadows delineate this institution. An inveterate collector of early Americana and of earlier Britannica, his acquisitive instinct and aptitude have helped develop the fabric of this institution from the rags of a "Chrysalis College" to the comparative riches of an academic colossus that still suffers growing pains.

EDMUND ASTLEY PRENTIS (By Dr. Krout). Edmund Astley Prentis is presented for the degree Doctor of Science. A son whom Alma Mater delights to honor, for he has honored her through five decades of happy and useful living. Exactly fifty years ago this week, he stood with his classmates before this academic rostrum to receive the hard-won degree of our School of Mines. In years that have followed, Columbia has been ever close to his heart. As rugged in soul as the immovable structures he and his partners have planned and built, he is gentle in his mien, fierce in his loyalties, boundless in his enthusiasms, scholarly in his knowledge and appreciation of history and the arts. He has striven always to advance Columbia's cause, as an alumni trustee, as an alumni federation officer, as a class president and, most importantly, as a friend and counselor of countless Columbia men. No act that you might perform today, sir, would make his fellow alumni happier than your act in honoring him, who so richly has earned their respect and affection through these many years. EDMUND ASTLEY PRENTIS (By Dr. Kirk). A New Yorker born within view of Morningside's halls, you have ventured far in active and happy life; but always you have come back to these well-loved scenes among friends to whom you have given so much of yourself. Returning today, you are more than ever welcome as you receive Columbia's accolade. It is a delight and a cherished privilege to do Alma Mater's bidding as I bestow upon you this honor so richly merited.

IRVING SANDS OLDS, Yale '07, Lawyer, former Chairman of United States Steel Corporation, and former Fellow of the Yale Corporation. Loyal son of Yale, you have strengthened the ideals and purposes of your Alma Mater in varied fields. Law, industry, education, and the arts have all benefited by your counsel and your character. You have spoken with prophetic voice of industry's stake in higher education. Now your friends welcome you back into service on the University Council, a prophet with honor in his own country, and delight in conferring on you the degree of Doctor of Laws.

This is Dr. Olds' fifth honorary doctorate and the second such honor to come to him this spring, for Swarthmore College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws just a week earlier then Yale. Dr. Dr. Kimball also had previously received an honorary doctorate in 1935 when Albion College, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his graduation from that institution, bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

FIVE PIECES of flat silver which belonged to the Van Wyck family. *Gift of Mrs. Theodore Van Wyck Anthony.*

Daguerreotype of the donor's great-grandmother, Jenat Gosman DeWitt (1789–1833); photographs of a daguerreotype of her great-grandfather, Peter John DeWitt (1780–1851), of two of his residences, and of other members of the family. *Gift of Miss Julia Ethel Brown.*

Two wax dolls, French, *c.* 1870. *Gift of Mrs. S. D. Burchenal.*

Oil portrait of Benjamin Aymar (1791–1876) by Jared B. Flagg, 1864, and one of Mrs. Aymar (1791–1843) by Samuel S. Osgood. *Gift of Mrs. Havemeyer Eldredge and Mrs. Colton P. Wagner.*

Oil portrait of Judge Charles Herman Ruggles (1789–1865) by an unidentified artist. *Gift of Mrs. Eustice L. Florance, a descendant.*

Personal history of Joseph Milliron, M.D., including a certified record of his military service and handwritten personal reminiscences of the Civil War. *Gift of Mr. Harry G. Friedman.*

Bust of Carl Sandburg (1878–) by Herman Heilborn, 1956. *Gift of Mr. Herman Heilborn, the sculptor.*

Four letters of Clement C. Moore(great-grandfather of the donor) to his mother [these will be printed in an article by Dr. Vail in our October issue]. *Gift of Mrs. Richard C. Hunt.*

Three white vests, late 19th century. *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

Eleven manuscripts, including letters of Captain Andrew Brown, Captain Adam Huyler, Col. Elijah Hand, Jesse Hand, Robert Hude, and others, describing their whaleboat warfare against the British off the New Jersey coast, January–June 1782. *Gift of Mr. C. Otto von Kienbusch.*

William-and-Mary-style lowboy, 1700–1710, in original condition; four toys, including a large Noah's Ark with approximately 300 animals. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Drawings, photographs, ledgers, letter books of George B. Post (grandfather of the donor), architect of the recently demolished Vanderbilt residence, the New York Stock Exchange, and other important buildings. *Gift of Mr. Edward Everett Post.*

Purchases for the Library: Gilbert Tennett, *The Espousals . . .* (New York: [John Peter Zenger,] 1735; [Samuel Seabury,] *An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New-York . . .* (New York: James Rivington, 1775); 4 letters from Walter Livingston to his father, Col. Robert Livingston, March–June 1776; mezzotint engraving, 1779, of Joseph Brant from the original Romney painting; manuscript journal of Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule, May 17–October 17, 1779 (25 pages), being an account of the expedition of General John

Sullivan against the Iroquois; 24 letters, 1799–1803, of Richard Somers (1778–1804), Commander in the United States Navy, to his brother-in-law William Jonas Keen, a merchant of Philadelphia; 2 letters from Robert Livington to his brother William, 1782; Niantic Toll Bridge sign, early 19th century, added to the Bella C. Landauer Collection; 9 early 19th-century silhouettes of members of the Cruger family by Master William James Hubard and others; *Rules for the Government of the Alms-House in the City of New York* (New York: 1801); *Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Hannah Lewis* (1st and 2d editions; Boston: Henry Trumbull, 1817); 13 letters of Isaac Annis to his daughter Mary M. Russell and others, 1849–1851, describing his journey to, and conditions in, the gold fields of California; *Atlas of street maps of the Bloomingdale Farm together with an Abstract of the title of Martin Zabriskie to a tract of land at Bloomingdale . . . 85th & 89th Streets* (New York: 1856); manuscript Score Book, June–November 1860, of the Alert Base Ball Club [South Orange? N.J.]; Theodore Roosevelt, "No Pigtail for Uncle Sam"—typescript, signed in pencil at the end and with a number of corrections by the author [originally published in the *Independent*, May 22, 1916.]

Case containing ten daguerreotype and ambrotype portraits, *c.* 1850–1855, of John Rogers, Sr. (1800–1884), and his wife Sarah Ellen (Derby) Rogers (1805–1877), the parents of the sculptor John Rogers, and their eight children. *Gift of the late Katherine R. Rogers, daughter of the sculptor.*

Thirty-six music pieces, late 19th century, written for or about the Seventh Regiment. *Gift of the Seventh Regiment, N.Y. National Guard (through Major Kenneth C. Miller).*

Indenture, dated November 8, 1725, for land on Broadway, New York City, between Jacob Jacobs and Nicholas Anthony et al. *Gift of Mrs. Theodore Steinway.*

Two sections of Christopher Colles' map embracing parts of New York State, New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, published in 1794 to accompany *The Geographical Ledger and Systematic Atlas* (New York: 1794). *Gift of The Reverend J. E. Strickland.*

Collection of photographs and prints (additions to McKim, Mead & White records presented in 1950) illustrating the early work of McKim, Mead & White, architects. *Gift of Mr. Lawrence Grant White.*

Two tortoise-shell combs and one jet comb, late 19th century. *Gift of Mrs. Forsyth Wickes.*

Collection of five costumes worn by Mrs. William Andrews Clark, wife of Senator Clark and grandmother of the donor, *c.* 1870–1880; three costumes worn by May Clark [Mrs. Marius de Brabant, mother of the doner], 1898–1900. *Gift of Mrs. Rodney W. Williams.*